













# THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER, 1815.

N<sup>o</sup>. L.

ART. I. *Remains of the late JOHN TWEDDELL, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; being a Selection of his Letters, written from various parts of the Continent; together with a Republication of his Prolusiones Juveniles. To which is added, an Appendix, containing some Account of the Author's Journals, MSS., Collections, Drawings, &c. and of their extraordinary disappearance. Prefixed is a brief Biographical Memoir by the Editor, the Reverend Robert Tweddell, A. M. Illustrated with Portraits, Picturesque Views, and Maps. 4to. pp. 660. London, Mawman. 1815.*

THIS minute and prolix title-page may convey to the reader as much information of the nature of the work as a table of contents usually supplies; and, in so far, it abridges the labour of analyzing the volume, and enables us at once to enter upon the discussion of its merits.

The name of Mr Tweddell stands very high on the melancholy list of those scholars, whose untimely fate has disappointed expectations formed from their premature attainments. His admirers have regarded him as the Marcellus of English literature; and the strong testimony which the publication of his *Prolusiones* bore to his extraordinary progress before he left college, was perhaps sufficient to justify, in the eyes of the world, the partial decision of private friendship. The letters contained in this volume, and now for the first time given to the publick, are rather to be considered as sustaining those hopes which the *Prolusiones* had raised, than as proving their fulfilment. They abound in traces of the same uncommon industry which had distinguished him from his childhood, and are filled with proofs that he had an almost equal talent for the acquisition of modern as of ancient languages. They indicate a great accumulation of knowledge upon the countries in which he travelled; and afford

the clearest evidence of his having collected valuable stores for illustrating their history and description. But they are the effusions of private friendship, dictated by the feelings of the moment, and written without the most remote idea of publication; and if they contain a reference to his more severe occupations, it is only because, next to the duties and affections of the heart, these studies always filled his mind. If, indeed, his journals shall at length be found, and given to the world, there is every reason to believe that we may regard his memory with gratitude as an important benefactor to letters, instead of only viewing it with the interest excited by an early promise of excellence.

The Memoir of Mr Tweddell, the only part of his task which the Editor has performed with any degree of selection or conciseness, informs us that he was born in 1769, near Hexham; and was the son of a very respectable country gentleman in that district. His earliest years were passed under the care of a pious and affectionate mother, of whose great merit, as well as of her son's unceasing and tender attachment to her, the correspondence in this work contains ample evidence. At the age of nine years, he was sent to the excellent school near Richmond, in Yorkshire, then kept by the Reverend Mr Raine, father of the late Dr Raine of the Charter-house, a man to be praised as often as he is named, for his extraordinary learning and integrity, and who, like Paley, has been suffered to die unmitred, because his political principles were too liberal for the governing faction of the day. From thence he was taken to Cambridge, after having spent some time under the tuition of the celebrated Dr Parr, who, as might be expected, assiduously and successfully cultivated his rising talents. At Cambridge he received, in a succession we believe unprecedented, all the honours with which the system of that University encourages and rewards literary excellence; and his *Prothusiones* (a collection of prize essays) have enabled the publick at large to judge how superior his productions were to the common run of Academical effusions. A German professor, we apprehend, how prone soever to dole out his superlatives among authors of folios and quartos—men who have run the established course, and lived the regular time for attaining celebrity—is not apt to bestow much commendation upon the incursions of youth into the sacred field of literary fame. Yet Heyné, a man of undoubted taste as well as the greatest learning, says, in a letter to the venerable Bishop Burgess—‘*Eruditionem ejus exquisitam ex prolusionibus juvenilibus perspexi* ;’ and he then lauds that generous love of liberty which breathes through these and all his other writings. We cannot

refrain from quoting a passage or two from one of the essays, not so much upon account of the accuracy of the opinions stated in them, as of the remarkable fact of their having been tolerated, and even crowned with the highest honours, by the illustrious University before whom they were delivered. The dissertation from which these passages are taken, was thus distinguished, not at the beginning of the French Revolution, but in July 1792; and one of them contains a vehement, and, we certainly think, in many respects, an unmeasured and unfounded attack upon the celebrated work of Mr Burke, sounding the alarm against Jacobinism. It alludes, too, very plainly to the writings of Mr Burke's adversaries, including, of course, his most formidable antagonist Paine, as having successfully attacked him.

• Quibuscunq; tandem satis Galli dimicaverunt, qualiscunq; fuerit exitus militiæ non satis pro voto meo auspicatæ, illud tamen mordicus teneo, facinus illos fuisse ausos, quod sit maximum et pulcherrimum, carosque semper animæ meæ intinis in præcordiis gestabo, quod æquæ omnium libertati acceptissimum munus consecravit.

• Animus mihi in dies incandescit, quoties plebis in aures insurrari audio falsos nescio quos rumusculos earum rerum, quæ in Gallia geruntur, quo scilicet ab æquæ libertatis patrocinio ceteri homines absterreantur. Cur autem hi latius percrebuerint, præcipuè causa stetit magni olim nominis orator, qui, animo ad causam tyrannidis adjecto, mirabiles quasdam excitavit tragedias, et putidis ampullis somnia mentis suæ decoravit. Grandi pagina turgescens, et læsam antiquitatis majestatem specioso verborum exercitu gestiens ulcisci, quantum erat in ulla unquam lingua intemperiarum et conviciorum, omne virus acerbitalis suæ, in gentem de iis omnibus, quibuscumque cordi est libertas, optime meritam, evomuit ac penitus exantlavit. Quippe spes de se pridem conceptas nihil reveritum, non illum puduit regium tanquam buccinatorem videri, et consceleratæ illi tyrannorum colluvioni, quæ bellum atrocissimum in Gallos jam nunc movet, classicum inhumaniter præcuisse. Gaudeat sane et gratuletur sibi, si potest, de diris illis et imprecationibus, quibus populum laudatissimum devovit. Gaudeat, si potest, emendicasse luctum illum, quem non commoverit, et tyrannos plus vice simplici vociferationibus suis unos demeruisse. Est interea et nobis, *turba quanquam simus suilla*, unde gaudeamus, siquidem hominibus jam tandem innotuerit, ea quæ scripserit, non integrorum fide testium scripsisse, sed fide exulum, fide perfugarum, fide perditissimi et exoleti peregrinantium monachorum gregis, fide patriæ perduellium suæ. Et nos quoque ei gratulamur, quod furorem ei et insaniam Deus injecisse videatur, hoc utique consilio, ut a partibus suis sanos omnes abigeret, et conculcatæ a se libertati invitus ipse opitularetur. Formidolosissimum enim provocavit in se scriptorum agmen,

qui exilia ejus argumenta turpissimam in fugam verterunt, fregerunt, trucidarunt.

‘ Macti igitur estote, cives Gallici, O digni nomine revera civium, macti novis virtutibus, conservatores civitatis vestræ, universæ libertatis vindices ! Si enim scdum illud teterrimumque gemituum et lachrymarum domicilium expugnastis, ac solo æquastis : Si litteras illas exitiabili auctoritate consignatas penitus delevistis : Si æquabilitatem juris propter perdoes, leporesque, et id genus omne, periclitari nolulistis, &c. &c. Si sint hæc, uti sunt, peracta a vobis omnia, hominibus ad servitutem paratissimis tuto licebit concedatis, desipere et ringi. Pusilli isti obtrectatores gloriæ vestræ strepitu magis numeroque sunt, quam dignitate et eloquentia reformidandi.’ *Prolusiones*, p. 148–50.

Whatever opinion men may form of this passage, judging by the event, and allowing their sense of the horrors afterwards perpetrated in France, and by the French in foreign countries, to recall or modify their decisions, with respect to the earlier and purer stages of the Revolutionary story, all must, we think, admit that the liberality shown by the University towards so stout a defence of doctrines, from the very first unpopular at Court, is highly honourable to this learned Body. The following remarks upon the partition of Poland, must, at all times, have been favourably received, by every man whose opinion was worth considering :—But, undoubtedly, we have seen times, in which the expressions would have been reckoned dangerously strong and pointed for a prize dissertation.

‘ Hinc adversum seditiones et clandestinam vim firmissime munitum. Adde, quod magno imperio id insitum est robur, ut ægrius opprimatur ab hoste extero, minusque igitur libertati illius sit periculum ex his calamitatibus, quæ te, miserranda Polonia, tuaque jura omniino omnia, vereor ne brevi infringant, penitusque gravissimo interitu subvertant.

‘ Enimvero, a teterrimis istis Russiæ et Borussiae tyrannis, istis versutis veteratoribus, istis, pene dixerim, efferis carnificibus, in æquam libertatem, in omne quicquid est jus gentium, in ipsum denique humanum genus, incredibili atque immani more et modo servitum est. Pavet interea, totaque mente ac totis artibus contremiscit ipsa Polonia. Obstupescunt, mista cum dolore et metu indignatione, gentes vicinæ. Quin Britannia, libertatis illa quondam violatæ et quidem periclitantis ultrix et acerrima vindex, tyrannorum inter minas et strepitum horrendorum armorum silet torpetque.—’ *Prol.* p. 173, 174.

In 1792, he was elected Fellow of Trinity College ; and soon after, in compliance with his father’s wishes, rather than from any taste for the profession of the law, he was entered of the Middle Temple, and for some time continued to pursue that study, notwithstanding his repugnance to it. But the natural bent of his

mind finally prevailed; and, with a view at once to indulge his love of letters, and to qualify himself for the diplomatic line, towards which his wishes seem to have greatly inclined him, he resolved to pass several years abroad. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1795, he went to Hamburg, and, after remaining some time there, visited most of the principal towns in Germany. He spent many months in Switzerland, a country which appears to have exceedingly attracted his attention, and to have been examined by him with the utmost diligence. In Russia, Poland, and several parts of the East, he continued his indefatigable course of study and observation: And, after visiting the Greek islands, he had fixed his residence at Athens for four months, investigating every minute particular of its interesting remains, when he unhappily fell a sacrifice to an aguish complaint, as his medical attendants conceived, acting upon a weakness (or more probably some peculiar affection) of the chest, contracted in the course of his fatiguing exertions, while travelling among the Swiss mountains. He died in July 1799, after a feverish illness of four days, which appeared not to be dangerous, in consequence of a sudden attack of some kind, exasperated, it should seem, by his injudicious treatment of himself; and it is difficult to say, whether the event was a greater shock to his relatives and friends at home, or to those strangers among whom he expired, and whose affections he appears to have won in a singular degree, by his various accomplishments, and his upright and most amiable character. He was buried in the Temple of Theseus; and a plain marble, with an elegant and classical inscription in Greek verse, by the Rev. Robert Walpole (a gentleman well known to all lovers of ancient literature) has been erected upon the spot. We shall close our short account of him with the following sketch, drawn unquestionably by a partial hand; but, from the evidence before us in these remains, and from the united voice of those surviving friends whose connexion with him was less intimate than that of the Editor, we are inclined to think by no means destitute of resemblance.

‘ Mr Tweddell in his person was of the middle stature, of a handsome and well proportioned figure. His eye was remarkably soft and intelligent. The profile or frontispiece to the volume gives a correct and lively representation of the original; though it is not in the power of any outline to shadow out the fine expression of his animated and interesting countenance. His address was polished, affable, and prepossessing in a high degree; and there was in his whole appearance an air of dignified benevolence, which portrayed at once the suavity of his nature and the independence of his mind. In conversation he had a talent so peculiarly his own, as to form a very distinguishing feature of his character. A chastised and inge-

nious wit which could seize on an incident in the happiest manner—a lively fancy which could clothe the choicest ideas in the best language—these, supported by large acquaintance with men and books, together with the farther advantages of a melodious voice and a playfulness of manner singularly sweet and engaging, rendered him the delight of every company: his power of attracting friendships was indeed remarkable; and in securing them he was equally happy. Accomplished and admired as he was, his modesty was conspicuous, and his whole deportment devoid of affectation or pretension. Qualified eminently to shine in society, and actually sharing its applause, he found his chief enjoyment in the retired circle of select friends; in whose literary leisure, and in the amenities of female converse, which for him had the highest charms, he sought the purest and the most refined recreation. Of the purity of Mr Tweddell's principles, and the honourable independence of his character—of his elevated integrity, his love of truth, his generous, noble and affectionate spirit, the Editor might with justice say much: But the traces and proofs of these, dispersed throughout the annexed Correspondence, he cheerfully leaves to the notice and sympathy of the intelligent reader.' p. 21.

It would gratify us much if we had room for a tribute to his memory by Mr Abraham Moore, which, for chasteness and beauty of composition has scarcely been surpassed among the writers of modern Latin. Indeed this volume is indebted for several of its most valuable ornaments, to the pen of that very ingenious and elegant scholar. No man could have been more fortunate than Mr Tweddell in his friendships, which were formed among men of congenial dispositions and accomplishments. To them, and his own amiable family, the letters are addressed, of which it is now necessary that we should say something, as well as of the Editor's share in their publication. Next to his near relations, Mr Losh, the barrister, of Newcastle, appears to have possessed the largest share of his confidence; and, from all that appears in these pages, to have well deserved it, in point of character, principles and attainments.

It would be extremely absurd to try these letters by the severe test usually applied to this species of composition, when it finds its way to the public.—They were written not merely without the least idea of publication, but probably under the conviction that they had no chance of being kept a year after they were received and read. They were written, for the most part, in a great hurry, when Mr Tweddell was fatigued with the laborious exertions to which three-fourths of his whole time were usually devoted; and though they are the letters of a traveller, during his journey, or frequently relate to the scenes and persons around him; yet they differ in one most material respect

from, we believe, all the other compositions of this sort, which have been presented to the world. The peculiarity is this;—and we state it fully at present, because it will form the subject of further discussion in the sequel of this article. The epistolary communications of former travellers have, generally speaking, been their journals thrown into the shape of letters; and if they kept any other register of their proceedings and observations, it has either been as merely subservient to the preparation of their letters, or for the reception of some particular branch of inquiry, generally of a scientific nature, not adapted to their epistolary work. Mr Tweddell's journals, on the contrary, occupied his whole attention;—they formed the business of the day, and are proved incontestably to have contained the greatest and richest fund of materials, for the description of the interesting countries in which he resided. Some of those journals were not merely mines, from which he might afterwards have completed a book of Travels, but consisted of the materials already worked up into a finished state, and ready for meeting the eye of the public. On his decease, there were inventories taken of his effects at Athens, by the British Consul and Vice-Consul. These inventories are published in the volume now before us, with the attestations of the witnesses who accompanied those official personages in their search; and it appears from thence, that during his travels in Greece, and his stay at Athens, he had collected materials and drawings for the illustration of these countries—so numerous, at least, as to make us anxiously inquire first into their probable merits, and then into their subsequent fate. There were five journals in his own hand; sixty sheets of notes; four note-books; and four volumes of Greek inscriptions, copied by him in various parts of the country. There were also seven port-folios and paper-packets, containing three hundred and sixty-four original drawings and sketches, in Greece, Egypt, and Turkey; five books of his own drawings in the East, and three books of his drawings in Greece,—besides a parcel of drawings, which the Consul did not open, and eighteen vases, and about two hundred coins. The greater part of these drawings were the work of Mr Préaux, a most admirable French artist, whom he had engaged to assist his inquiries at Athens, and who was constantly employed with him during the four months of his residence there. There seems hardly to have been a stone left unsketched. The ordinary size of the drawings was thirty inches in length; but there were a number of larger ones, of the principal temples, and other more interesting objects, from four to five feet long. The qualifications of the artist may be estimated from the following account of him by Mr Tweddell.



' You may felicitate me on a considerable acquisition which I have made. I found at Constantinople, some time before my departure, a very celebrated painter, who had been invited thither by the Comte De Choiseul, in order to assist him in the completion of that magnificent work, of which he has given the first part to the public. The Revolution, however, put an end to these projects; and this man had remained there ever since, meeting with that scanty encouragement which might be expected in such a country, and unable to return into his own from the unhappy state of affairs which has long prevailed there. I found him eagerly disposed, from this concurrence of circumstances, to embrace my proposal of making the tour of Greece with me upon very moderate conditions, when compared with the extraordinary talent which he possesses. He had studied eight years at Paris, under Robèrt, at the Royal Academy, and ten years at Rome, at the expense of the late king, under the most celebrated masters; and, had not the Revolution taken place, he was about to have been appointed the king's painter for the department of architecture. I could not possibly have been more fortunate.'—'*My collection of Levantine Dresses* (I mean drawings of them) *is already very considerable, amounting to nearly two hundred*—and will soon be greatly augmented;—so that I hope one day to show the richest port-folio perhaps that was ever carried out of Greece, Asia, and Turkey. But Athens, especially, is my great object. I promise you that those who come after me shall have nothing to glean. Not only every temple, and every archway, but every stone, and every inscription, shall be copied with the most scrupulous fidelity.' p. 267, 268.

From various passages in his subsequent letters, it appears that Mr Præaux more than answered these expectations, and that he had been labouring at the drawings with the most exemplary assiduity during the whole period of their connexion. With respect to Mr Tweddell's observations and researches, it would be difficult to imagine any one, whose previous habits and acquirements rendered him more fit for the task of elucidating the remains of classic times in those celebrated countries. His zeal for the subject, too, was unbounded; and these letters contain perpetual proofs of the diligence with which he devoted himself to his researches, and of the satisfactory progress which he and his coadjutor had made. Thus—

' There is an abundant crop, and the promise of a rich harvest—at least, I can answer for the diligence of the reapers.—From sunrise till eleven o'clock at night we labour uniformly; Mr Præaux in copying every thing which is to be copied, and I in determining the locality of ancient buildings, and in describing and comparing what is with what was. I am highly satisfied with our several progress. Notwithstanding the four years' residence of Mr Stuart, and the laborious investigations of Mons. Le Roy, I persuade myself that my drawings will represent many objects in a new and much bet-

ter light, than those of either one or the other, and that there will be a wide difference in the taste with which the points of view, especially the general ones, are chosen, and in the accuracy of perspective. I also flatter myself with being able, before I leave Athens, to correct many imperfections in the map of these environs, which the Abbé Barthelemy has published in the *Travels of the Younger Anacharsis*. Exclusively of much curious exhibition of ancient architecture in its highest perfection, I make a point of collecting a variety of small scenes, representing the manners, usages, dresses, and attitudes of the inhabitants—their ceremonies of marriage and interment,' &c. (p. 288.)—'Piccaux has taken drawings of almost every building and monument of interest without-side the citadel.' (p. 291.)—'Je suis très-content, cher ami, de mon séjour ici, et du profit que j'en ai tiré. J'ai une superbe collection de dessins de chaque monument qui existe, et de tous les points de vue les plus intéressans.' (p. 292.)—'Independently of a very fine collection of drawings, I have two volumes full of ancient Greek inscriptions, which I have copied, having turned over almost every stone in the environs.' (p. 296.)—'J'ai fait un très grand recueil d'anciennes inscriptions—il n'y a ici guères de pierre que je n'ai tournée et retournée.' (p. 306.)

There was, besides, a collection of admirable drawings by Mr Fauvel, which he had purchased of that gentleman.—We believe there are few readers who will not admit, that the question as to the value of the journals, notes, and drawings, above enumerated, has been satisfactorily answered. The other question, respecting what became of them, we shall discuss presently.

Now, hitherto, we have only adverted to the collections found at Athens, and comprising the result of Mr Tweddell's labours after he left Constantinople in autumn 1792. But it appears that he deposited there, before leaving it, the results of his previous travels during above three years. The volume before us presents some evidence also of *their* extent and value. They appear to have consisted of a great mass of drawings and manuscripts. Among the drawings, there were many of the Crimea, executed by himself, or under his direction, by an able artist, in the service of Professor Pallas. These he describes (p. 188.) as having been finished 'in a very masterly manner.' There were also about one hundred drawings of Constantinople, and the neighbouring country (p. 315.) He describes his notes and papers, 'upon the different countries through which he had passed,' as having been 'very voluminous' (*ibid.*) But his 'different journals' he speaks of as still more valuable, 'especially those of Switzerland and the Crimea, which were composed with much care; and which (he adds) I will venture to say, contained some very good information, and many details not yet known.' He speaks of these MSS. as 'the fruits of

‘ three years and a half of unremitted application to every object of curiosity that had come before him,’ (p. 317.); and adds, that to have made another copy of his Journals, ‘ would have required half a year of constant writing,’—as he had found when he began such an attempt, (*ib.*) Again.—‘ During the three years and a half which had intervened between my arrival at Hamburg and my departure from Constantinople, I had registered the occurrences of every day with much minuteness. I had neglected no species of information, and had collected a variety of details very interesting, and some little known. My papers and notes of this kind were become voluminous.’ (p. 318.) And he then states his having, from their bulk and value, been induced to deposit them under the care of his friend Mr Thornton, afterwards British Consul in the Levant. Lastly,

‘ But exclusively of an accession of health (from walking), I have by this means seen the country in a very superior manner. In each of the cantons through which I have passed, I left nothing unseen behind me. I have travelled where neither carriage nor horse could have followed my route;—and General Pfyffer\* of Lucerne, who is better acquainted with his own country than any other man in it, told me that my course was one of the completest that he had ever known to be pursued.’ p. 92.

We might multiply the evidence on these points from the letters of Mr Tweddell, and other documents now before us; but we presume that enough has been stated to prove the extent of his collections, and the extraordinary diligence with which they were daily and hourly made during his travels. They engrossed, in fact, the whole of the time which was not passed in society and in actual observation; the completion of them formed his principal, or rather his only object, to which every thing he did and saw was made subservient; and when he sat down to write letters, it was only in a moment snatched from his severe and habitual occupation. Unfortunately, the letters only are now to be found,—the collections have most unaccountably disappeared: But in judging of what is before us, we should act most unfairly if we did not take into our account the relative situation in which it stands to what is suppressed. We see, in truth, little more of the sculpture than the chips and the dust,

---

\* General Pfyffer—a native of Lucerne, and officer in the French service. He constructed a very curious model (formed of a composition of charcoal, clay and other materials) 20 feet and a half long, and 12 in breadth, exhibiting a topographical representation of the most mountainous parts of Switzerland, in an accurate and minute detail, and of extraordinary beauty. The execution of it cost the General nearly 20 years, before it was brought to entire perfection.

and here and there a rejected fragment half finished. Thus much it was necessary to state respecting the merits of the Correspondence, as connected with Mr Tweddell's travels and literary pursuits:—As illustrating his private character, it requires neither apology nor vindication.

Of these letters, however, the reader will naturally require a specimen or two; and we shall extract several passages of nearly the average degree of interest which the collection possesses. The Editor has certainly been ill advised in publishing so many. Above three hundred quarto pages are occupied with them; and unless every hope of recovering the journals and other more valuable remains of Mr Tweddell is abandoned, we hardly think the printing of so large a portion of his private correspondence was justified by its importance. All the letters containing material evidence of the existence and nature of those journals undoubtedly deserved to be laid before the publick; but many letters are here to be found which neither throw any light upon those points, nor carry with them any considerable degree of interest to the bulk of readers, persons unconnected with the author. We touch very reluctantly upon this topic, aware of the amiable feelings which have led to the error we are noticing; feelings quite sufficient for his apology, if not for his justification. The following remarks on Swiss liberty we believe to be very just.

' In Switzerland, believe me, there is much less liberty than people imagine. I give you my word, that few places exhibit more of despotism than Zurich. The government of that canton is inquisitorial in a very sublime degree. But I should be laughed at for saying this, by every traveller almost who runs through Switzerland—"Oh! Switzerland is free—happy Switzerland!" Now, nothing is more idle than to talk of the liberty of Switzerland, as if it were one state. It consists of thirteen governments, exclusively of numberless subdivisions of government; and the liberty of one often borders upon the tyranny of another. The aristocracy of Zurich raised my indignation while I staid there—I speak not of the form of which one reads, but of facts which passed under my own eyes—I have some damning documents upon that subject. The government of Zurich cannot last 20 years: I think it will not live above half that time. As for Geneva, it is on the eve of another revolution.'

p. 111.

Our readers may like, perhaps, to be introduced into the family circle of the Neckers and Staëls at Copet, near Geneva.

' I left Lausanne about ten days ago, upon an excursion. I had an invitation to pass a few days with Mons. Necker, formerly minister of France: this invitation was too interesting to be refused, and I spent with him first of all near a week.—I then went to Geneva for

a day or two, and am now on a return to Mr Necker's, in my way back to Lausanne.—My visit here has been highly agreeable. We have had a very small party in the house—a Madame Rillet, Mr Micheli de Chateauvieux, and Mr and Mad. de Stael. Necker talked to me a great deal, and with much interest, about England. Upon France he said less, and wished in general to avoid the subject. He is generally thoughtful and silent—but I have had the good fortune to contribute to his amusement, by recounting to him different circumstances in our political affairs; so that Madame De Stael tells me that she has never seen him for many years so much interested, and so abstracted from himself and his own thoughts. He was anxious that I should give him an idea of the different manners of style and oratory of the first speakers in our House of Commons. As I recollected speeches of almost all of them, and possess the base faculty of mimicry, in some measure, without being (I hope) what is called a mimic, I repeated to him different speeches of Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and Dundas, in their respective manners: He understands English perfectly well; and you cannot conceive how much he was delighted with this. He desired me to go over them again; and almost every day we have passed several hours upon similar topics, either touching upon Hastings's trial, or the examinations and trials of the state-prisoners; or other subjects, relating to the constitution and government of England. Thus he has been, many of these days, quite lively and cheerful; and instead of passing the greater part of his time in his own cabinet, reading and writing, he used to enter soon after breakfast into his daughter's room, and spend with us the greater part of the day. He was, indeed, pleased to say, that nothing had interested him so much for many years.—Mr De Stael, whose conduct in France had given umbrage at the Court of Sweden, and who apprehended that his functions might in consequence be suspended, received, while I was at Copet, a courier to confirm him in the exercise of them. Mad. De Stael is a most surprising personage: she has more wit than any man or woman I ever saw. She is plain, and has no good feature but her eyes; and yet she contrives, by her astonishing powers of speech, to talk herself into the possession of a figure that is not disagreeable.' p. 117, 118.

The following extracts bring us into an equally interesting society in a remote corner of Europe, Tulczyn, in the Ukraine, where Mr Tweddell spent some time at the country seat of Countess Potozka, and in the company of her numerous guests, and her neighbours the very amiable and distinguished family of the Duc de Polignac.

'The Countess has a very princely establishment indeed—about 150 persons daily in family. The Marshal Suvarrow, and a great number of his officers occupy a wing of the palace, which is a very large and magnificent building. I have an apartment of three rooms to myself. The family never unites before dinner time. Each per-

son orders breakfast in his own apartment, and has all the morning to himself: This is very convenient; a perfect liberty of conduct upon all these points is thoroughly established. The Countess sends a servant to me every morning, to know if I want any thing; to bring fresh linen, &c. and to ask at what hour I choose to ride out. I have a carriage and four horses, and one of her servants to attend me whenever I please; and, in short, she has omitted nothing to make my residence here in every respect pleasant and commodious. I have all the morning for study, except what I give to exercise; and in the evening there is always society without the trouble of seeking it.—The Duke of Polignac's house is at the distance of half-an-hour's drive: I go thither upon what is called a *traineau*; i. e. a carriage embarked upon a sledge; and the road is one entire sheet of glass, over which the horses gallop almost the whole of the way. I have dined twice there; and was, the day before yesterday, witness of the arrival of news which gave me the most cordial joy, and which, from the knowledge you have of the friendly attentions I have long received from the Duke and his family, will not fail to give you also pleasure:—During the time of dinner a courier arrived from Petersburg, bringing a letter to the Duke, written by the Emperor himself, and containing nearly these words—

“I have this day made a grant to the Duke of Polignac of an estate in Lithuania, containing a thousand peasants; and I have the pleasure of signifying it to him with my own hand. (Signed) PAUL.”

‘We are just restored to tranquillity after a mighty bustle—There has been a great wedding in the family, which has sometimes consisted of 150 persons. We have had a great mob of Russian princes; and all the feet of Ukraine have been summoned to dance. At present we are reduced to about 16 persons, and our society is somewhat select and pleasant. Among these is the Marshal Suvarrow, the hero of Ismaël. He is a most extraordinary character. He dines every morning about nine o'clock. He sleeps almost naked. He affects a perfect indifference to heat and cold—and quits his chamber, which approaches to suffocation, in order to review his troops, in a thin linen jacket, while the thermometer of Reaumur is at 10 degrees below freezing. His manners correspond with his humours. I dined with him this morning, or rather witnessed his dinner—he cried to me across the table, “Tweddell” (he generally addressed by the surname, without addition) *the French have taken Portsmouth. I have just received a courier from England. The King is in the Tower; and Sheridan Protector.*” A great deal of this whimsical manner is affected. He finds that it suits his troops and the people he has to deal with. I asked him, if after the massacre of Ismaël, he was perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the day? He said, he went home and wept in his tent.’ p. 132—136.

That the intercourse of the great world had no evil effect on Mr Tweddell's feelings and character, we may infer from the following remarks.

‘ I supped with the King of Poland last night. We had a very small party, about ten persons. His manners are very engaging, and his person very interesting ; but he is much dejected. I am going there again to-night.

‘ All that I see of the great world, of its pleasures and of its vanities, has no other effect upon me than that of convincing me that the little of happiness which is made for man must be found in the other extreme. I see every where so much folly and so much wickedness, such a mad appetite for vitiating the wholesomeness of Nature, that she has become doubly dear to me since I see so little of her. The ambitious projects which I will confess that I once had, are dead within me. All that surrounds me in that way is calculated to make a feeling and reflecting mind groan and weep. After having seen the part which fools play upon the great stage, a few books and a few friends are what I shall seek to finish my days with. In the mean time, being in the bustle, I mix with it—I swim with the tide, and mark how it ebbs and how it flows, and all its various eddies and directions. There are many things in this world which it is worth while to see, merely to know that they were not worth the pains of seeking.

‘ I have seldom passed my time so pleasantly as in the Ukraine. In my last letter I gave you a long account of our way of living, and of the persons whom I saw there. But the greatest treasure to me was the society of the Polignacs—with whom I dined always three or four times a week, and spent the whole day. It is truly a rare thing to see women who have lived so much in the great world, and on its pinnacle—and who while they appeared made only for that—so highly possessed of every thing which gives a charm and a relish to private life. The Duchesse De Guiche and the Comtesse De Polignac are among the few women whom I could live with for ever ; with every grace of person and manners they unite more solid accomplishments—and so attached to each other, not a sentiment of rivalry ever entering into the imagination of either. I shall see them once more in passing to the Crimea, and then, perhaps, never more :—this is, I assure you, a serious regret.’ p. 116, 117.

We may, however, observe, that his opinions upon political subjects received a very considerable softening from his new habits of life. The author of the Dissertation from which we have above extracted opinions concerning the French Revolution, was not likely to have passed over the mention of the Duke of Brunswick's manifesto, with the simple epithet of ‘ *unfortunate*,’ which is all he says of it, after receiving some civilities at that prince's court. His intercourse with emigrant ladies appears materially to have increased his disgust at the subsequent progress of the Revolution, and its fatal wars ; and he expresses himself in language extremely violent, as often as those topics come across him. We admit, of course, that no real friend of

liberty could hesitate in proclaiming his abhorrence of the revolutionary crimes, and of the oppressions exercised by the French arms; but the manner of the following passage, (rather perhaps than its substance), betokens either that he had become somewhat tinctured by the prejudices of the society in which he principally lived, or that, conscious of having begun in one extreme, he felt a disposition to run into the opposite.

‘I am the most decided enemy of the *great nation*; their monstrous and diabolical conduct makes me ashamed that I ever could imagine that their motives were more pure, or their ends more salutary. My opinions are not changed with regard to our mode of commencing the war, and the views of dismemberment, &c. &c. but they are most completely changed with respect to the nature of French principles, French morals, French views, and the final result of the French Revolution. The conduct of the present government towards America and Switzerland, but especially Switzerland, is the *ac plus ultra* of barbarous despotism, rising in the consciousness of impurity and the lust of evil. There is no longer any good to be expected from these ruffian trumpeters of false freedom. I am strongly convinced, and have the best and most melancholy proofs, that there is less liberty in France than in almost any country of the earth. In short, I lose all patience upon this subject. I abhor and execrate the pretended republic, with all her compulsory affiliations, in the exact proportion of my former hopes from her efforts in the cause of mankind. I prefer the downright sincere despotism which avows its nature and publishes its maxims, to the hollow workings and masked designs of an hypocritical liberty.’ p. 239, 240.

While we intimate the doubts suggested by this and several other passages, we desire not to be understood as confounding Mr Tweddell with those false friends of liberty, who having once, and by some accident, been led to profess perhaps, rather than to hold, free opinions alien to the baseness of their natural disposition, seized the first opportunity to shake themselves loose from such troublesome incumbrances, that they might run unshackled the profitable race of servility; and, resolved by their peculiar speed to make up for having started somewhat later than their fellow slaves, display a zeal for every thing base and sordid, which the more discreet enemies of independence regard as overdone. Mr Tweddell had nothing in common with this mean and pitiful tribe; it was because he really loved liberty, and viewed the French as its enemies, that he hated them; and he hated them upon the true ground too,—because he saw in their proceedings checks to the necessary reforms in our own establishments.

The following passages from a letter to his mother, contain proofs of that kind and affectionate disposition which we have



frequently mentioned as one of the remarkable features of Mr Tweddell's character. They also show it to have been slightly tinged with melancholy, which indeed repeatedly appears in the course of the correspondence, though the Editor ascribes it to some temporary disappointment.

' I assure you a great part of the pleasure which I receive from this part of my travels, results from the idea of *that* which I shall be able to convey to you and to my father on my return. We shall thus, I hope, all travel over the same ground together. Believe me, I begin to feel the interval very long which separates us. It is now more than three years since I took leave of Threcpwood, and of so many objects which that place contains that are most dear to me. On leaving England I hoped that in about that time I should be returned, or nearly so; but the times have been most unfavourable—and events impossible to foresee. What consoles me is, that you will be convinced I have neglected nothing to draw profit out of every circumstance during the period that has separated us. I am still in hope that a year more will see me in England.

' If, however, you or my father should wish me at any one moment to return to England, and to abandon the plan which I propose, and the object of my inquiry, I shall certainly not scruple to sacrifice my own wishes to yours. The fame of authorship is no longer of the same value in my eyes that it was formerly;—it is added, in my estimation, to the long list of other worldly vanities, the sense of which is augmented by every day and almost every hour that passes over me. I would never consent to publish any thing that I myself felt to be very imperfect;—but, on the other hand, I would readily agree to abandon any prospect of literary success for the remotest hope of contributing to your and to my father's satisfaction. There are few things to which I now attach any extraordinary value; and, when I recollect the ardour with which I once meditated upon different little projects of vanity and ambition, all of which now are dead within me, I sometimes think that you will find me changed in more than one respect from what you knew me. But, provided that you and my father are content with the plan which I have given you; such, I think, it is likely to remain, for the greater part;—and I flatter myself that when once again we are reunited, we shall long remain so, at least, with few intervals of separation. You tell me that your health is good upon the whole—my father's is not likely to undergo any variation; for all which I am thankful to God, who will, I hope, permit us to converse together many ensuing years, upon the different objects which have, severally, most interested us during our separation;—and then, perhaps, we shall none of us regret that a few months more were added to an absence which, however sometimes painful, will in the end, I trust, prove to have been salutary and useful.' p. 282—284.

For the gloomy colouring of passages like these, and particularly his letter to Mr Digby, we may be disposed to make great

allowance, if indeed such sentiments are not rather to be admired, as flowing from an exalted spirit, and a wise and well founded indifference to the accidents or evils of life, without any improper rejection of its enjoyments. But we cannot help viewing some of Mr Tweddell's letters, those in particular where he argues, rather than expresses his feelings upon certain subjects, as partaking of another character, and bordering upon a self-denying system, wholly contrary, in our apprehension, to the soundest views of human virtue, and of the order of the universe. We allude especially to such observations as the following.

‘ I no longer eat flesh-meat, nor drink fermented liquors. As for the latter, it is merely because I do not believe that they can ever be good for the constitution, and still more especially with a vegetable diet. With regard to the flesh of animals, I have many times thought upon the subject. I am persuaded we have no other right, than the right of the strongest, to sacrifice to our monstrous appetites the bodies of living things, of whose qualities and relations we are ignorant. Different objections which struck me, as to the probability of good from the universality of this practice, have hitherto held me in indecision. I doubted whether, if this abstinence were universal, the animals, which we now devour, might not devour, in their turn, the fruits and vegetables reserved for our sustenance. I do not know whether this would be so—but I do not believe it; it seems to me that their numbers would not augment in the proportion which is apprehended: it, on the one hand, we now consume them with our teeth, on the other, we might then abandon our schemes and inventions for augmenting the means of propagation. Let nature follow her own course with regard to all that lives. I am told that they would destroy each other:—In the first place, the two objections cannot exist together; if they would destroy each other, their numbers would not be excessive. And what is this mutual destruction to me? Who has constituted me dictator of the realms of nature? Why am I umpire between the mistress and her servants? Because two chickens fight till one dies, am I obliged to worry one of them to prevent their engagement? Exquisite and well imagined humanity! On the other hand let precautions be adopted against famine, when experience shall have shown the necessity of them; in the mean while, we are not called upon to bury in our bowels the carcases of animals, which, a few hours before, lowed or bleated;—to flay alive and to dismember a defenceless creature—to pamper the unsuspecting beast which grazes before us, with the single view of sucking his blood and grinding his bones—and to become the unnatural murderers of beings, of whose powers and faculties, of whose modes of communication and mutual intercourse, of whose degree of sensibility and extent of pain and pleasure, we are necessarily and fundamentally ignorant. The calamity does not appear to me to be suffi-

ciently ascertained, which warrants so barbarous a proceeding, so violent a remedy, upon suspicion and by anticipation.' p. 215, 216.

Now, not to mention the many decisive answers which might be given to such reasoning, more particularly from the acknowledged fact, that we are so placed in the midst of animal life on all hands, that destroy it we must, every hour, whether we will or no, unless we mean to surrender our own:—We object to the general system out of which all such sentiments arise; a system of selfdenial and mortification, nearly allied to that which many very excellent and amiable persons pursue, or rather try to pursue, at the expense of their whole happiness, and many of their duties; a system generally connected with religious feelings, and always founded more or less in an excessive, and unquestionably a criminal, aversion to the occupations and the pleasures of the world. The patrons of these doctrines, perhaps we should rather say the victims of these morbid feelings, consider every thing that passes in life as unworthy of a reasonable being's regard, as exceedingly trivial in itself, and calculated, by winning our affections, to turn them away from those sublime contemplations and magnificent prospects which are held out by futurity. To be much engrossed, therefore, with the present, they hold a great offence; and, not quite aware how far they must go in order to be consistent, they deem every care bestowed upon worldly affairs, beyond what absolute necessity requires, as at the least debasing, perhaps criminal. There cannot surely be a greater perversion of reason, nor one involving consequences more unhappy; because, nature having implanted in all mankind passions and feelings which rivet their affections to the world, in spite of themselves, the utmost progress which can be made towards unfettering them, amounts to little more than a struggle; and the principles to which we are alluding, always terminate in unavailing regrets at losing what is unattainable, and selfcondemnation for having yielded to inflexible and overruling necessity. The evil appears still to be greater, if we reflect that it falls entirely upon the most amiable and virtuous spirits,—the rude mass of mankind being secured against its inroads by the sturdy, unthinking constitution of their minds; and even those delicate and sensitive beings are mightily injured by it in their conduct, as well as their happiness, because they confound together feelings and actions, involuntary and wilful errors—and in straining after some fantastic, excessive, and unattainable perfection, almost always neglect the solid practical excellence which is within every person's reach, and not unfrequently fall into serious offences. The cure for such mistaken notions is nevertheless extremely obvious. Let those who labor

under them only reflect on the manifest plan exhibited in the universe, with respect to human conduct—on the abundance of enjoyment scattered over the face of nature—on the desires and aversions implanted in our minds—on the connexion between present gratification and worldly virtue—on the certainty and clearness with which every thing present is unfolded to us, and the obscurity purposely thrown over the future; and they will admit, that the evidences of intelligence in the system are hardly more obvious than the proofs of what it intended for man; and that we have almost as strong indications of the duties cast upon him with respect to the scene he is placed in, as we have of the existence of design in his formation. Such considerations as these, are quite sufficient to reclaim any reasonable understanding from the errors we have mentioned; to raise it up from prostration before a god of sacrifice—an idol of the Cloister—an image of terror, caprice, cruelty and injustice, fashioned by fearful men, after the likeness of their own vices and frailties, to the adoration of the Supreme Author of Nature, from whose power have proceeded all the beauty and harmony and fragrance that delight the senses,—all the capacities and feelings that make the mind susceptible of enjoyment in every fortune.

We have hinted at want of selection as one of the errors committed by the Editor of these letters. Not only he has printed a considerable number without any adequate reason, but he has inserted one or two which ought undoubtedly to have been suppressed. The wisest of men will sometimes write thoughtlessly, and even foolishly to their most intimate friends, in moments of hurry and fatigue; but it is only of such first-rate personages that the public ought ever to see the productions of every careless hour. Men of an inferior, though highly distinguished stamp, cannot afford, in point of reputation, to be so exhibited, and the display is not sufficiently interesting to the multitude. So, the best of men, in the confidence of private friendship, will frequently express themselves respecting others, with a severity painful to its objects if known, yet almost as innocent and indeed unavoidable as thought itself, where there is no idea of a disclosure. The rash publication of such effusions, come from what quarter they may, is no doubt interesting enough to the world, ever greedy of invective; but we can never too severely condemn it as a breach of duty both towards the authors and the subjects of them. The editor has erred in both these particulars, and especially in the latter.—Why was the Seventeenth Letter published? It consists entirely of abuse, either of himself or others. The melancholy tone of his own mind, how

amiable soever, presents the strength of his understanding to us in an unfavourable light, and, from the information in the note, we should think an unfair light; for the editor there says, that such was very far from being 'his real and habitual temper.'

'As for the scenes which I have passed, I know of none which bring pleasure to my memory;—only my own family, yourself, Losh, Mrs W. and one or two other friends, are all that I would except from oblivion. Every thing else presents to me either a duty neglected, or a folly committed, or a loss of time, or abuse of the few powers which I have, or hopes madly conceived and cruelly frustrated. I recall no year, no month, no week, scarcely an entire day, passed without some feeling which has embittered all the rest of it. You think I exaggerate—I assure you I do not. I do not talk of the time I passed at school. I was then thoughtless; and, though not particularly happy, yet I was not otherwise. When I first went to college I was dissipated, and regretted every day what I committed every day: I spent more money than I ought, and again regretted that I put my father to so much expense. During this period I was half the day very comfortless; reproaches and exhortations made me endeavour to redeem, what I never have done, my lost time. I was then ambitious—and no one can conceive with what fretful impatience I waited for the time of trial, and with what fears and pains I expected the decision of those trifling honours. I should have been ill if I had not succeeded—and when I did, I was not happy for three moments, because I recollected that more would be expected of me the following year. Before I left college, as evil things always grow fast, I felt a much higher ambition, but equally foolish—till, all on a sudden, without being either disappointed or gratified, it nearly died away of itself.' p. 104, 105.

The remaining part of the letter is chiefly filled with very unmeasured invectives against the diplomatic gentlemen whom he had met with in his travels, and who, as we learn from other parts of his correspondence, had, without any exception, treated him with peculiar kindness and attention. It is true the Editor does not print their names at full length, except one, who is only described as 'a simple, plain man,—fat, good 'humoured and unaffected,'—and therefore named distinctly. But, by means of initials, titles, asterisks, and the red-book for the year, every one of those whom he lashes in blank, becomes easily discoverable, and as well known as the individual who is *spared* at full length. And how, we must ask the Reverend Editor, does he think that a gentleman who had lived on habits of friendly intercourse with his brother, and to whom in the same sentence, the brother admits his obligations, will like to see himself described by him as 'full of pretension, singularity and mystery—affecting openness, without a spark of

‘ ingenuousness in his character—imposing on people, who think him frank—a humorist, first by plot, latterly by habit—one for whom no diplomatic artifice is too gross ’—and so forth?—Or how is another of our ministers likely to be pleased at seeing him-self held up as ‘ an empty coxcomb of seven feet high, fit object to sit in state under the clipped wings of the imperial eagle; ’—and therewithal likened unto ‘ a stuffed thing in a naturalist’s cabinet of outlandish rarities,’ the more like, ‘ because it has no entrails ’ (p. 107). Mr Robert Tweddell surely must have forgotten the pain which such abuse may give; otherwise one so strict in his moral and religious principles as he shows himself to be, never could so far have forgotten the first of christian duties. He must have forgotten, at all events, the feelings towards his brother’s memory, which such disclosures may excite; otherwise, one so affectionately attached to that brother, and so zealous for his fame, never could have so wantonly contributed to impair it. He makes some kind of apology for the hastiness of these decisions in another passage; but would it not have been better to suppress the hasty abuse, and save the apology?—It is truly painful to make such reflexions; but our duty is imperative, and we should betray it by suppressing them.

The Editor has accompanied the letters with a very ample commentary in the notes. These are, no doubt, convenient, for they leave nothing unexplained. Every person and thing referred to in the text, that could raise any doubt or difficulty in the reader’s mind, is fully described in the notes,—and we may add, not a few persons and things that could have created no sort of embarrassment, had they been left without annotation. Thus, in p. 136, Mr Tweddell happens to make mention, in a letter, of a cold at 10 degrees of ‘ Reaumur; ’—whereupon the learned Editor gives us an account of Reaumur and his thermometer, with a couple of *formule* for converting degrees of Fahrenheit and Reaumur into one another. So, the mention of Anselm Banduri, having very properly led to an account of that antiquary, the editor cannot tell us that he was born at Ragusa, without adding, that it is ‘ a small republic situated in Dalmatia, on the coast of the Adriatic; ’ and that ‘ Meleda or Melita,’ is ‘ perhaps the Melita of St Paul.’ (p. 271.) We have another instance of simplicity or prolixity (we hardly know which it is) in p. 131.; where an ordinary jest in the text occasions this note.

‘ The *quadruple* estimation of any moral or physical quality possessed by an individual in an eminent degree, is a familiar idiom of the French language; but is more usually applied to bodily strength. The first sarcastic application of having “ *de l’esprit comme quatre*,”

is said to have been made by Piron to the French academy, consisting of forty members (and usually styled "*Les Quarante*"); and it is here adopted as a figure of speech by Comte O'Donnel, who had much of the playfulness of Parisian conversation, importing, that 25 English possessed amongst them the *culture brains* of 4. (Ed.)' p. 131.

But perhaps the note in p. 50. exceeds all the others. Mr Tweddell having, in one of those letters to his father, which there was no occasion for publishing, described the uniform which he used as a court dress, unfortunately speaks of its 'blue lappel,' which he thought sufficiently intelligible and accurate. Not so the more accurate and most intelligible Editor, who thus annotates—

'Lappel is called in French *revers*; being merely the reversing or turning back of the front lining; *facing* seems to be the proper equivalent in English; *lappel* applying more specifically to the *cut* or *outline* than to any difference of colour. (Ed.)' p. 51.

A consideration of the Appendix now brings us to resume the question of the MSS. and drawings; and having already shown the great amount and bulk of these remains of Mr Tweddell, we are next to inquire, how such literary treasures have disappeared. In performing this most important part of his task, the Editor deserves almost unmingled praise. He might have brought forward his proofs in a more distinct and luminous order, but he has at any rate manfully produced them; and though we would fain hope that he passes too harsh a sentence on those whom he accuses of detaining the collections, and are willing to believe that they will yet be produced, we must admit that the case is a strong one as it now stands,—that an answer on every point is most imperiously called for,—and that the Editor has not shrunk from the arduous discharge of a duty attended with much trouble, and possibly with some risk. Anxious with him and with the whole literary world that this mystery should be cleared up, and sincerely desirous that the explanation most satisfactory to all parties should be obtained, by the discovery and production of the papers, we shall contribute all that lies in our power to the accomplishment of this object, by stating distinctly the manner in which the documents before us, forming the Appendix, show those papers to have been disposed of.

The reader will recollect, that the papers consisted of two portions; the notes, journals and drawings, found in Mr Tweddell's repositories at Athens after his decease—and those which he had deposited with Mr Thornton before he left Constantinople; the former containing the fruits of his researches in

Chcece; the latter consisting of his collections from the time of his landing on the Continent, till the commencement of his journey to Athens. We shall pursue the history of these two portions in their order.

As soon as Mr Spencer Smythe, then resident British minister at the Porte, heard of Mr Tweddell's death, (with whom he appears to have been in habits of intimacy), he sent instructions to the Consul and Vice-consul at Athens, who had taken an inventory of the property, as we have already stated, and who had officially reported, that they held them in deposit until further directions should arrive. Mr Smythe's orders were, that they should be sent by sea to him at Constantinople; and they were shipped accordingly about the end of November 1799, consigned to Mr Smythe. The vessel was unfortunately wrecked in the sea of Marmora; but the property in question was all saved, and carried by the person under whose care it was sent, to Constantinople, where it was taken possession of before it reached Mr Smythe, by an order of Lord Elgin, who had just arrived as ambassador. Under this authority it was retained in custody of the English embassy; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr Thornton, was suffered to remain in the cellars for eight weeks unopened, although suffering extremely from damp since the shipwreck. At length, about the end of January 1800, the papers were unpacked, and artists were employed to inspect the drawings. They appear to have been a good deal damaged, though the evidence is contradictory as to the extent of the injury: But Signor Lusieri, a well known Italian artist, then under Lord Elgin's patronage, having inspected them, has since asserted distinctly that they were 'in a recoverable state, and might easily be copied.' It is also known that some of them *were* copied, and that the copies are in the hands of a gentleman in this country. The evidence of the MSS. and drawings having come into Lord Elgin's possession is clear beyond all cavil; Lusieri admits it; and Dr Hunt, chaplain to the embassy, states his having seen them. Simeon, too, under whose care they were sent, deposes, that he saw MSS. and drawings spread out to be dried on the ambassador's table; and that among them was a gold watch, which he recognized as part of Mr Tweddell's property.

The other, and more bulky portion of Mr Tweddell's collections, which he had left in Mr Thornton's custody, was happily saved by that gentleman's strenuous and disinterested exertions, from a fire which destroyed part of his premises; and it was retained by him until Lord Elgin ordered it to be sent to his residence, about the same time that he began the examina-



tion of the Athenian collections. Together with this order, Mr Thornton received a notice to attend himself, and he saw the packages, of which he had the care, opened and examined. He recognized the Swiss journal, and other manuscripts, and the different articles which he had seen Mr Tweddell put up in the trunks. The contents of the packages were all taken out, and exposed on the table and chairs of the room, where Mr Thornton also saw the collections from Athens. Of this room Lord Elgin kept the key; and he locked it up himself when they left it, the different articles remaining exposed. Some weeks after this period, Mr Thornton going to his warehouse, saw several of the boxes which had been sent from the English residence; and, upon opening them, he found that they contained many of the things which had been in Mr Tweddell's trunks; but *all the drawings and manuscripts were missing*; nor could they be found by the most diligent search, nor was any further communication made to him upon the subject of them.

A short time previous to his taking possession of Mr Tweddell's property, Lord Elgin had written a letter to a friend, in which he says—‘ His correspondence, and his papers, as well  
 ‘ as the collections he had made, shall be carefully sent home;  
 ‘ and I will direct any trifle of expense which I believe to be due  
 ‘ on his account, to be paid, that no delay may arise, on this  
 ‘ pretext, in transmitting his effects home to his parents. From  
 ‘ the industry and knowledge Mr Tweddell displayed in his li-  
 ‘ terary pursuits, his loss is considered to be as serious a one as  
 ‘ could have happened to those who set a value on the riches of  
 ‘ Greece.’ (p. 355.) But he made no communication whatever to Mr Tweddell's family, who waited with some impatience for the fulfilment of the intentions kindly expressed in this letter. Although a good deal alarmed by a letter from Mr Spencer Smythe in April 1801, complaining that all his attempts to procure an arrangement of the affair were frustrated, and that ‘ he had been  
 ‘ doomed to become an impotent spectator of so much misman-  
 ‘ agement as rendered the topic very ungrateful,’ they commissioned Dr Clarke, who was then at Constantinople, to wait upon his Lordship; and he is here called upon by the Editor to say  
 ‘ whether his representations, made in the most respectful and  
 ‘ earnest manner, were not met with rudeness and rebuke.’ The only answer, it seems, which the ambassador would give, was a general and positive declaration ‘ that the property had  
 ‘ been sent home in compliance with the instructions of Mr  
 ‘ Tweddell's father; and that the interference of the gentleman  
 ‘ referred to was equally superfluous and unauthorized.’ (p. 358.) Upon Lord Elgin's return to England, and these inquiries be-

ing renewed, all that could be obtained from him was, that he could add 'nothing to the account he had already given of the 'embarkation of Mr Tweddell's property at Constantinople.'

It is natural then to inquire, upon what grounds this very general account of the matter is supposed to be a correct one; whether his Lordship's recollection, thus vague, though peremptory, is likely to be accurate; how far circumstances and evidence concur in raising a suspicion that he has not sufficiently taxed his memory, and that, if he gave himself the trouble (which his known love of letters, and more especially his attachment to the monuments of antient art, must incline him to think light), he might bring other particulars to his mind, and perhaps be able to trace the valuable remains so much sought after, and to produce them to the lawful owner,; for the benefit of the world. Now, in answering these questions, it is most material to observe, that the Noble person gives no reference to any ship, or captain,—no invoice or bill of lading, certificate of health or letter of advice;—in short, he supports his statement by no documentary evidence whatever. Dr Hunt, indeed, says he thinks the collections were shipped in the *Duncan*, and consigned to the care of Mr Losh at Newcastle, under the superintendence of Professor Carlyle. But, in the *first* place, Dr Hunt's account is replete with inaccuracy, and clearly appears to be the result of a very obscure recollection of the circumstances. *Secondly*, That gentleman was intimately connected with Lord Elgin in the whole course of the transaction. *Thirdly*, Mr Thornton in his letter distinctly asserts, that he never heard of the shipment on board any vessel bound to England; although, from his having had the custody of the papers left in Constantinople, and having been requested by Lord Elgin to be present at their examination, it was most natural to give him notice of their embarkation. He adds that the *Duncan* was there during 1800, but sailed for Smyrna and Egypt on military service, not for England. This also appears from a letter of Mr Werry the British consul at Smyrna. *Fourthly*, though Dr Hunt says, in his first letter, that 'he saw the papers put on board an English vessel, he thinks 'the *Duncan*,' including the Swiss Journal by name (p. 450.), yet, in his second letter, he only says that 'he most firmly believes it was transmitted, with whatever else was thought likely 'to be interesting, to Mr Tweddell's family' (p. 452.); an alteration of his testimony which, according to every rule in use for sifting the correctness of a witness's recollection, is quite fatal to it. *Lastly*, he says, that he 'most firmly believes' the shipment was made 'under the superintendence of Professor Carlyle, whose connexion with Mr Losh, and with the north of England, rendered him the fittest person in the embassy to

‘ fulfil that duty ; ’ although, in the first letter, he had said, distinctly, that ‘ Professor Carlyle directed them to Mr Losh’s care, for Mr Tweddell’s family.’ So that, at first, he recollects as a fact, Professor Carlyle directing them to Mr Losh ; and afterwards, when he is desired to be more particular in his recollection, he can only give the consignment to Mr Losh as a matter of inference, and the interference of Professor Carlyle as a matter of belief. He also says, that ‘ he believes ’ the Professor consulted Mr Thornton as to the shipment, and that it was made in the Duncan, by his advice. We have seen that this is positively denied by Mr Thornton ; and Professor Carlyle has been dead many years. However, Mr Losh has furnished the substance of his conversations with him upon this matter, from which it is quite clear that he could not have packed up and directed the papers to Mr Losh, for he only told that gentleman that ‘ he had seen packed such papers as Lord Elgin thought proper ; ’ whereas, if he had consigned them to Mr Losh, he must have told him so at once. It is perhaps material to add, (from the circumstance of Lord Elgin and Dr Hunt both appealing to Professor Carlyle), that he expressed himself to Mr Losh in such terms of his Lordship, as we are under the necessity of suppressing. (p. 160.) We presume the foregoing remarks are sufficient to destroy the whole weight of the evidence supposed to be afforded by Dr Hunt’s letters in support of Lord Elgin’s recollections.

We have already stated the substance of his Lordship’s answer to Dr Clarke’s inquiries, and to the applications of Mr Tweddell’s friends after his return in 1806. For several years the matter was dropt ; but in consequence of some circumstances coming to light in 1810, a correspondence was opened with him, and questions put in considerable detail. His answers contain, it may be presumed, his whole case ; and therefore we cannot avoid regretting that the Editor did not insert them at full length, instead of giving their substance. The following is the statement.

‘ His Lordship politely acknowledges the interest which he feels in the subject submitted to him, and most happy would he be to have it in his power in any way to contribute to elucidate those topics to which the inquiries are directed. His memory, however, he is sorry to say, does not supply him with any recollections sufficiently precise for that purpose ; though he is not without some “ impressions ” remaining on his mind, by the help of which he ventures to state, in substance, as follows :—

‘ That certain effects of Mr Tweddell, sent from Greece by sea, were brought to the residence of the English mission at Péra, after having first suffered shipwreck ; that among them were several drawings executed by a French artist, some memoranda of inscriptions,

and a few " trifling notes " on his Tour in Greece ; and that the whole had been so much damaged by salt water as to warrant the description (for so it is expressed) of being " in a very deplorable state." His Lordship's " impression " further is, that some of the gentlemen attached to the embassy did charge themselves with the most immediate care of the property in question ; and he believes that it was sent home, either under the personal care of the late Professor Carlyle, or, by his direction, in a merchant ship called the *Duncan*, along with several boxes of presents to Mr Pitt and Lord Grenville.

' The noble Earl being subsequently requested to consider more particularly, what might be the number and peculiar description of the packages received from Athens, with particulars relating to their embarkation on board the "*Duncan*," confines himself to a simple declaration, that he had already taxed his recollection to the uttermost, and is unable to discover, either in his mind or amongst his papers, any memorandum alluding in any way to the circumstances of this transaction. To certain questions proposed at the same time, Whether Lusieri was not permitted to make copies from some of the Athenian drawings ? and, Whether any transcript was ever made of the journals, or any notes or extracts taken from the various manuscripts ? His Lordship replies to the former, by intimating, that Lusieri was not at that period in Turkey ; and of course he feels confident that he never did copy any of the drawings alluded to, or any others which were found in Mr Tweddell's collections. —Adverting to the latter, he observes, that he has no " guess or belief " that any copy was taken of the journals, or any extracts or notes from the manuscripts : " It is possible (his Lordship adds) that some of the notes or inscriptions may have been copied, being in the hands of the several gentlemen of the embassy engaged in similar researches ; but he has none in his possession, nor does he know of any."

' Being solicited once again to recollect, Whether he did ever receive from Mr Thornton two trunks, which had been confided to him by Mr Tweddell, containing his journals of Switzerland and the Crimea, and other literary effects ? My Lord Elgin briefly and distinctly replies, " that he has no recollection of any such delivery being made by Mr Thornton : " But he would wish it to be understood, " that any deposit made into the custody of the mission, by no means necessarily came under his own individual observation ; that he did not take charge of the effects, while there were persons in the embassy who, from their connexions in England and their situation, more naturally could see to them." He insists on the length of the interval which has elapsed since the date of the transactions : And, having intimated how " very transiently " the matters in debate originally came before him, and how anxiously he has availed himself of his fading " impressions " to give all possible information on a subject so extremely interesting, the noble Earl takes his leave, by expressing a general persuasion, that every thing relat-

ing to Mr Tweddell's concerns "must" have been sufficiently explained at the time, in one way or other.' p. 361—365.

We have hitherto seen Lord Elgin's general statement only in the light of an account wholly unsupported by evidence; but when he gives a more particular narrative, he is not merely unsupported, he is contradicted—and his story is, moreover, full of improbability. In the *first* place, it seems quite unaccountable that the incidents should have made so slight an impression upon him as he represents. They were of an extraordinary nature, and of rare occurrence; they had happened indeed at a considerable distance of time; but his recollection had been taxed very early by Dr Clarke, and a few years later by other friends, on his arrival in England:—they related to the subjects of his favourite pursuits, which had occupied much of his time in Turkey, and had continued to interest him warmly at home. Besides, he is proved to have paid particular attention to the papers and drawings, both by the facts formerly stated, and by what we are presently to add. *Secondly*, as he had, in a letter already cited, professed his intention of transmitting the property to Mr Tweddell's family, and of defraying any expenses which might be incurred to avoid all delay, it is very unlikely that he should, so soon after, have abandoned all care of it; that it should have been shipped without a line of advice being sent to any one, or any document taken to vouch the shipment. *Thirdly*, he states that they were sent at the same time with some presents to Lord Grenville and Mr Pitt:—now it is ascertained that Lord Grenville received his packages safe, as it may be presumed Mr Pitt did also. *Fourthly*, the *Duncan* and her lading have been most minutely traced by official documents, and the statements of the persons entrusted with the care of the ship and her cargo; and it appears that the whole of it reached England in two other vessels on which it was transhipped; that there was not one package for either Mr Losh or Mr Tweddell's family; and that the only private property, out of the ordinary course, consisted of some packages for Mr Nesbitt, Lord Elgin's father-in-law. *Fifthly*, his Lordship speaks most lightly of the value of the property, particularly of the Greek collections, which he calls 'several drawings,' 'some memoranda of inscriptions,' and 'a few trifling notes of a tour,' all completely damaged. Whereas Mr Thornton, who assisted at the examination of them in Lord Elgin's presence, not only gives a very different account of them, as we have already stated, but mentions his having had a conversation in 1801 with Lord Elgin, who described Dr Hunt as having been 'prepared for superintending' his (Lord E.'s) artists then employed at Athens, by looking 'over Tweddell's papers.' (p. 380.) This is a very material

fact; and still more so is that assertion of the editor in p. 369, if correct, that many of Mr Tweddell's original drawings were seen in his Lordship's possession long after the period in question; and that copies from these, taken by Lord E.'s permission, have been actually inspected by the editor himself. *Lastly*, his Lordship's recollection respecting Lusieri and Mr Thornton is peculiarly incorrect—the former having been in Turkey at the time, and the latter having seen the Swiss and other collections left under his care, in Lord E.'s own keeping. Indeed, it is not a little remarkable, that Lord E. should, in his letters to the Editor, deny all knowledge of the latter portion of property, when he had acknowledged to Mr Hamilton, of the Secretary of State's office (p. 352.), the accuracy of Mr Thornton's statement, in which the several articles of that portion are described as having been taken out of their packages in his Lordship's presence, after being sent to the residence by his orders. (p. 372. *et seqq.*)

We are now drawing towards the close of these details. In November 1813, the Reverend Editor presented a memorial to the Levant Company, in order to obtain a search of their records and depositories at Constantinople, (a search which proved quite fruitless); and in the statement of facts upon which he grounded this application, he preferred substantially the same charges against Lord Elgin, which the volume before us contains at greater length. In particular, he asserted, that his Lordship had seized the Athenian Collections in an arbitrary manner, and without any lawful right to them; that he had obtained possession of those left in Mr Thornton's custody; that his account of having sent them home by the *Duncan* was supported by none of the usual documentary evidence; and that the whole of the property in question, after being in Lord Elgin's 'immediate keeping and sole administration,' had utterly disappeared. These assertions relative to Lord Elgin, it may be observed, were not essentially connected with the desire of the memorial; and therefore, they could only be regarded as charges against him. The Company transmitted a copy of it, in the first instance, to that noble person; and his letter, upon receiving it, is deserving of observation. He gives no denial whatever of the plain and obvious imputation contained in the assertions of the memorialist; but contents himself with calling upon that gentleman to 'furnish distinct and formal proof,' not of all the assertions, but of the first only—which involves almost as much matter of legal dispute as of fact. Mr Tweddell, in a long, and extremely confused and ill written letter, produces his proof; and we hear no more of this correspondence with Lord Elgin. But, at any rate, we must admit, that his silence as to all the

other parts of the memorial which related to him, either directly or by obvious implication, is exceedingly strange. It seemed an occasion for downright, unequivocal denial; and, considering the colour of the insinuation that had been made, the most fastidious observer might even have pardoned a little warmth and vehemence in the manner of meeting it. Besides, this was not the first time that the noble Lord had heard of these things. He had been pretty bluntly attacked in print, more than once, upon the score of Mr Tweddell's property. He had lost his temper when applied to by Dr Clarke for an account of it. He had been involved in a correspondence about it with the nearest of kin, who had put the most minute and harassing questions respecting it. The official communication, therefore, of the memorial, containing the charges embodied, seemed to present a favourable opportunity at least for broadly affirming that they were utterly unfounded from beginning to end; instead of this, we only find a suggestion to the Company that they should call for proofs of one of the statements. Nor is this a case in which distance of time and imperfect recollection can be held of much avail—for the things, plainly insinuated at least, if not directly alleged, are such as, we hope and trust, the noble person must *know* himself to be, and to have always been, incapable of, without any effort of memory. The details he may have forgotten; but, when the question is, whether he kept possession of another man's property, and whether, during the last fifteen years, he has appropriated it to his own use—we answer for him—no; and deny the charge, if it were dated fifty years back. It is to be lamented that he did not adopt this course himself, and follow it up by instituting such a rigorous examination, both of his recollection and his repositories, as might set the controversy at rest, by producing the valuable remains so anxiously sought after, or at length explaining the manner and causes of their disappearance.

We most earnestly hope, that the merits of this question being now fairly brought before the publick, the general interest excited by it may have such an effect on his Lordship's feelings, should the statements in these pages have failed to persuade him, that some reparation is due to himself, as well as to the literary world. That no legal measures have been instituted for bringing the matter to a final settlement, we can hardly regret, if the object shall be accomplished in this more amicable way. What the ultimate result may be, we presume not to conjecture, because we know not the whole of the case; much, in all probability, remains to be disclosed on Lord Elgin's part. The only thing which may safely be asserted is, that things *cannot* rest where they now are; and this we do very confidently affirm.

In the mean time, we cannot close this volume, without expressing our regret that the Editor should have used in several parts of his long Appendix, language with respect to this noble person, of an extremely scurrilous nature. We cannot quote it, nor allude to it more particularly. What his writings want in precision, clearness, and arrangement, in all the constituent parts of luminous and powerful statement, cannot be supplied by the insertion of mere abuse. An excuse may perhaps be sought in the wounded feelings of so near a relative,—and unquestionably this consideration has its weight: But feelings may be regulated, if they cannot be stifled; otherwise they seem to disqualify those, whom they overpower, from discharging *public* duties.

ART. II. *Reasons for Establishing a Registry of Slaves in the British Colonies: Being a Report of a Committee of the African Institution. Published by Order of that Society.* 8vo. pp. 118. Hatchard. London, 1815.

WE ought regularly to have devoted this article to the consideration of the Annual Report of the African Institution, and the other publications more immediately connected with it. But the subject announced in the title is of such great importance, and so urgently pressed upon our attention by its approaching discussion in Parliament, that we are obliged to interrupt the usual course of our proceeding, and devote ourselves, for the present, exclusively to the question of Registry. We have more than once had occasion to notice it generally, and to express the hope, entertained by us in common with all who have well studied West Indian affairs, that it might speedily be brought forward in the Legislature. This proceeding has now been begun, and we trust the next Session will witness its completion.

Although the tract before us appears in the shape of a Report, it is, of course, like all such productions, substantially the work of an individual. It is fit on every account that we mention his name. His recent conduct in retiring from Parliament, upon grounds of a nature purely conscientious; his great and powerful services in the cause of the Abolition, but more especially in reference to the subject of the present Report; and the modesty which has always prompted him to withhold his name from his many admirable publications upon colonial questions, render it a duty peculiarly incumbent upon us, in this place, to commemorate Mr Stephen. We have every reason to believe



that the plan of a Slave Registry, now adopted in the conquered islands, originated with him; and that he unremittently watched over its execution. The extension of the plan to the old settlements, is likewise his proposal; and it is understood that he has performed the task of unfolding its grounds in this Report. Had he continued a member of the legislature, in all probability he would have brought forward the measure, which, after his honourable retirement, has been introduced by Mr Wilberforce: And we have no doubt, that when the bill passes into a law, Mr Stephen's name will, in common parlance, be annexed to it. This is an honour richly due to him; for no man ever laboured or sacrificed more in behalf of a measure adopted by him from principle alone. It is also worthy of his acceptance;—it is a simple but dignified tribute, almost the only one reserved by the practice of the country, for civil worth;—it carries a statesman's name down to after ages, inscribed upon the lasting column which he has reared to prop the publick weal;—and bestows upon him, in his own day, honours which a patriot may accept, and a sage may prize.

It is manifest, that so material an alteration in the law as is here contemplated, ought not to be attempted without the fullest examination of its grounds, its nature, and its probable consequences. The object of the work before us is to facilitate this investigation, by an ample statement of the reasons which have convinced the Committee of the African Institution, that the measure in question, is not only desirable, but essentially necessary; and that the change will be not only safe, but beneficial. In a critical point of view, we should not easily praise it too highly. A more distinct, argumentative, and eloquent tract, has rarely appeared upon any political question. But our attention is principally drawn to the subject matter; and we hasten to lay the substance of the reasoning before the reader.

The Report begins with a description of the fatal effects which may be expected to arise from an illicit importation of slaves into the colonies since the law has made the traffic a crime. With respect to the voyage, it is plain, that negroes carried clandestinely are, on that very account, in a much worse predicament than if the trade were permitted. The contraband commerce is driven with tenfold greediness; and without any of the regulations which were enforced to mitigate the horrors of the middle passage. The utmost lading that can be stowed into a vessel will always be risked; and the supply of provisions be as scanty as that of space for the wretched cargo. The slave trader, too, is a person of a worse description, if possible, than in times when the law strangely lent its sanction to his crimes; so that

the very worst of the worst parts of society are now alone engaged in these enormities. Nor does this rest upon conjecture. 'It is' (observe the Committee) 'fully attested by experience. —The contraband slave traders of America notoriously crowd their ships beyond any example to be found in the same commerce while it was allowed by their laws. Several shocking instances of this inhumanity have come under the cognizance of our prize courts. The same dreadful distinctions also have marked the cases of ships under Portuguese and Spanish colours, which have been proved, or reasonably presumed, to belong to British or American smugglers.' p. 3.

But this topic is slightly touched upon in the very judicious statement now before us, and with much propriety; for it is a necessary consequence of the abolition, and was indeed one of the arguments urged against it from the beginning, by those who denied the possibility of effectually stopping the trade. Abolitionists, therefore, having carried their measure, cannot dwell much upon the increase of evil that has in some sense flowed from the measure itself; they can only urge this as an additional reason for all such supplementary arrangements as are likely to give it full efficacy. They must not—neither do they—deny that a vast amount of the traffic has been destroyed; they only contend, that what remains, being of a peculiarly malignant description, for the very reason that it is left in spite of the law, new means should be devised for enabling the law to reach this remnant likewise.

The effects of the illicit traffic on the condition of the slaves in the colonies, presents more important matter of consideration. The emancipation of those unfortunate beings has never formed any part of the views entertained by the Abolitionists. They have constantly been charged with indulging in such prospects; they have uniformly, peremptorily, and in the end successfully, repelled the charge. Not that any one, attached to the cause of humanity and justice, ever shut his eyes to the ultimate liberty of the negro race, as the result of an improved system of management; or even saw, without infinite pain, the impossibility of hastening so desirable a consummation by direct legislative interference. But, unprepared for freedom as the unhappy victims of our oppression and rapacity now are, the attempts to bestow it on them at once, could only lead to their own augmented misery, and involve both master and slave in one common ruin. A gradual improvement in their condition could alone prepare the way for restoring them to liberty; and this improvement was confidently expected to flow from the abolition of the

slave trade. Such expectations were not founded upon untried theories, but upon all the experience recorded in history. The lot of domestic slavery in Rome was not materially softened, until the universal extension of the empire, precluding new conquests, cut off the supply of slaves. The laws came in, to complete and consolidate what private interest had begun; and the mild spirit of the Christian religion, without any direct precept, hastened the progress of a reformation, already commenced, as the Report observes, before the promulgation of that system. It thus happened, that at the dissolution of the empire, almost all the domestic slaves had become free, and those employed in country work had attained the condition of *adscripti glebe*. The progress was nearly the same in modern times; the extinction of villeinage in gross, and the final emancipation of the lower orders, having followed by slow degrees the cessation of the warlike customs which used formerly to supply the slave markets. In like manner the colonies in America, where the supply of negroes has been, from various circumstances, the most scanty, are those which have been most remarkable for a mild treatment of their slaves. It was with good reason, then, that the friends of humanity expected, from the shutting of the slave market, an attention to the comforts, the health, the preservation at least, of the stock already in the colonies; an adoption of the breeding system, when buying should be no longer practicable; such a gradual melioration of their condition, as no direct interference between a master and his slaves can effect, but which is absolutely necessary, as it is morally certain to prepare them for the ultimate possession of the freedom so long withheld from them. But it is equally clear, that these hopes are founded entirely in the real and complete extinction of the traffic; and that, as long as any access is left open to the market, however narrow and precarious, the breeding system will be neglected. They who calculate upon a mere rise of price as sufficient, and from thence would expect salutary reforms in the management of plantations, neglect some of the most important circumstances which crept into the question. They forget the situation of almost all planters, speculators, or in debt, or non-resident;—speculators, who must by all means make speedy profits, and, regarding the sugar trade as a lottery, care not whether they pay a little more for their tickets, as long as there are any to be had for money, and as long as the prizes are in the wheel;—debtors, who have not the entire controul of their own property, but are compelled to work out of it, at all risks, as much as will satisfy the immediate demands of their creditors;—non-residents, who must leave the management of their estates to persons on the

spot, having no interest in their pursuing the best system, but preferring the easiest; and anxious, beyond their own case, only to swell the accounts of present gain. Upon this branch of the argument, we cannot resist extracting the following spirited observations from the Report. They are no doubt substantially correct, although we think the reasoning somewhat exaggerated.

‘ It is idle to tell men in such circumstances, of benefits to be attained, or savings to be made, fifteen or twenty years hence; and yet they must wait so long at least, before they profit or save through the labour of children yet unborn, and by means of regulations which are to prepare for the obtaining, as well as the preserving, a large native increase.

‘ Besides, the hope of distant advantages, and the cautious, calculating, patient views of the economist in the walks of European agriculture or commerce, have little or no place in the ardent and adventurous mind of a West India planter. He has staked his capital or credit, and with it his health and his life perhaps, on a game over which chance has far more influence than prudence. It is a game, too, at which the chances are greatly against him. Sugar planting is a lottery in which there are many blanks to a prize; but then the prize is very splendid;—he *may* attain to great opulence, and in a very few years. This is the irresistible excitement, by the effect of which men are drawn into the hazardous speculation of buying or settling sugar estates; and when such dazzling objects are in view, and such risks incurred, slow-growing, and distant gains or hopes can have little to attract or deter.

‘ The sugar planter, whether he buys or inherits his estate, possesses a property which is the sport of fortune, and has not therefore such inducements as other landholders have, to make sacrifices for its future improvement. The best settled sugar plantation is exposed to such extreme vicissitudes, that the fruits of patient self-denial may be lost, or the waste of improvidence repaired in a single season.

‘ Hence the peculiar rapidity with which such patrimony is often spent; and hence a strong temptation to neglect the suggestions of prudence in the case we are considering. Convince the proprietor, if you can, that by planting ten acres less this year than before, and consequently diminishing his consignments by ten hogsheads of sugar in the next year, he may save three times the value in the price of slaves to be purchased fifteen years hence: what then? “I shall lose,” he might truly reply, “250*l.* in my next year’s income, which will oblige me to submit to the painful retrenchment of my present comforts; perhaps, for instance, the laying down my carriage: and, after all, the sacrifice may prove to have been either unnecessary or fruitless. Hurricanes, epidemic diseases, droughts, or other causes, may ruin my estate long before the period you mention; or good crops and good markets may so enrich me within the same time, that the laying out even 1000*l.* in slaves will require no

unpleasant sacrifice, and put me to no inconvenience. Either of these changes is far more probable than that matters should go on in such an equable course, with property of that precarious kind, as to secure to me the distant benefit you propose." p. 15-17.

The inference deduced from these and similar topics is, that so long as any possibility exists of buying, the breeding system will be neglected; and it is even added, that the abolition, unless perfectly effectual, will aggravate the miseries of the slave population, by furnishing tenants for life, and other temporary possessors of estates, with excuses for not keeping up their gangs, and by removing the check which public opinion imposed upon the avarice of absolute proprietors; thus throwing the labour of the plantation upon diminished numbers of negroes. '*On diminue tout ce qu'on exagere,*' is a proverb of excellent application, both to matters of argument and of taste; and a reasoner who strains after more than he can seize hold of, is apt to lose the firm footing which he had. The Report here proves too much; it is an argument against the most effectual and complete abolition, if it is any argument at all. And we even think, that somewhat too much stress is laid upon the previous, and in general, legitimate topics; but of this we shall speak, after considering the next proposition maintained by the Committee—the insufficiency of the present abolition laws for the purpose of wholly preventing the trade.

This, it is obvious, will be fully proved, if it can be shown that, in point of fact, slaves *have been* smuggled into the colonies notwithstanding the laws in force;—for the change from a state of war to a state of peace, is in every respect favourable to such a contraband, by diminishing the naval force employed, by enabling foreign flags to cover the trade, and by precluding the exercise of the right of search—a right merely belligerent. Since the Report was drawn up, indeed, a part of this statement has lost its groundwork; for the French government under Buonaparte having totally abolished the slave trade, the restored dynasty has subsequently concurred in the same wise and just measure; so that the peace will only operate in a twofold manner, by diminishing our naval force, and preventing us from searching foreign vessels. These, however, it must be confessed, are very material circumstances, especially the latter, which is beyond our controul; so much so, that they suggest a further consideration, viz. that although there should not have been found any illicit importation carried on during the war, no security would be afforded from thence against such a contraband arising in time of peace. Has there, then, been such an evasion during war or not?

‘ That African negroes have been illicitly imported into some, if not all our islands, since the year 1808, and even since the offence was made felony, there is abundant reason to conclude.

‘ Direct information of such practices has been several times transmitted to the friends of the Abolition in England, from different quarters. The particular modes, too, have been pointed out, viz. the running the poor captives on shore at night from a neighbouring foreign island; or the carrying them in small numbers, from a more distant port in the dresses of Creole negroes, and under the pretended characters of sailors or passengers.

‘ Many smuggled slaves were brought by these modes from the Swedish island of St Bartholomew, and dispersed among the British colonies in the Leeward Island government; and more especially in St Croix, then in his Majesty’s possession. In the latter island, the practice was so extensive and notorious that the Collector of the Customs found himself bound to take public notice of it, and advertised rewards for the discovery of the importers.

‘ Letters and personal communications from gentlemen of respectability, to the Secretary and General Committee of the African Institution, would suffice to remove all doubt of the existence of such offences, to some extent at least, if it were not a necessary precaution with that respectable Body, to conceal the names of individuals resident in, or connected with, the West Indies, who send them, from humane motives, useful information. The transmission of it might otherwise dangerously expose the authors to popular odium or private resentment in that country.’ p. 22, 23.

To require the highest proof of such infringements, the conviction of the offenders, the Report justly observes, would argue great inattention to the state of things in the West Indies, where almost the whole population being incapable of giving evidence, a smuggler must be heedless indeed if he exposed himself to the risk of legal testimony. Seizures have however been made at sea, of cargoes which there was every reason to presume were destined for the British Islands; and many small vessels have been condemned in the West Indies, found near our colonies with each a few negroes on board;—so few, that they could only have come from foreign islands, and could not have afforded profit enough to defray the costs of an African voyage. In a list of thirty condemnations, printed by order of the House of Commons, sixteen are of vessels which carried, on an average, no more than four slaves each.

The history of the slave population in Trinidad, furnishes strong presumptions, says the Report, of a considerable smuggling there, even since it became a felony. It seems, that the last official returns of the island, before the Abolition act began to operate, gave the numbers at about 20,000, being only an in-

crease of about 300 since 1805, though the importations had been very great. The act took effect from the first of January 1808, and in 1810 the returns were 20,729;—in 1811 they had increased to 21,288. The inference from thence is intended to be, that the importations of 1806 and 1807 having only increased the population about 300, there must have been much smuggling between 1807 and 1811, to increase it nearly 1300: And admitting the census to have been taken with equal accuracy in all these years, the conclusion is irresistible: But the whole rests upon this assumption;—and it is unfortunate, that an authority so extremely unsafe as Sir William Yonge, is relied upon for the most material item in the whole account, the numbers in 1805. \* In 1812, and 1813, the provisions of the Order in Council establishing a Registry, were enforced in the island; and the result has been, that the numbers registered upon oath in December 1813, were 25,717 slaves. To show that this difference could not have arisen from natural increase, the Report states, that the annual excess of deaths above births, previous to 1805, had been proved by Government returns to be no less than 14 per cent., owing to the mortality uniformly attendant upon opening new lands. It is further said, that no considerable number of negroes could have been legally brought from other British settlements, both because the old plantations could not, after the abolition, have spared their hands, and because such transferences must have appeared in the Customhouse-books; whereas those documents were not appealed to in Trinidad by those who attempted to explain away the fact; but they rested upon other grounds, viz. the inaccuracy of the former returns made under a Spanish law.

We cannot allow this statement to pass without a few observations. It is quite impossible, we apprehend, to adopt the inference to any thing like the full extent; for what would it then be? An increase of above 2200 a year in the black population, notwithstanding bad treatment, clearing of new lands, and all the other causes which used to diminish it 2500 a year—in other words, that the smuggling had introduced about 5000 a year. The Report suggests, that 1000 in six years, legally imported from other islands, would be a large allowance; but still, 4800 a year, feloniously smuggled, is quite incredible; and certainly any such increase by breeding, is wholly out of the question. We must needs suppose, therefore, that the former returns were very much below the truth, as indeed there was even

\* See our review of his *West Indian Commonplace-Book*, in our Number for November 1807, for proofs of his constant mistakes.

reason to expect they would prove, when checked by so complete a piece of statistical mechanism as the Registry, by far the most rigorously exact instrument of enumeration ever yet used. It is said indeed, that the inference partly rests upon a comparison of the old returns under the Spanish law with each other. But much reliance cannot surely be placed upon the result of three trials of so inaccurate an instrument as the Registry clearly shows the old census-law to have been: And besides, even that result proves, we conceive, a great deal too much; for if the mortality of 14 per cent. continued, we should be compelled to conclude, that above 3000 yearly were smuggled after the Abolition acts passed. It is indeed very possible, that the mortality may have decreased, as the difficulties of the times, and the low prices of produce, during the period in question, may have checked, or wholly suspended the clearing of new lands, the great source of waste. But this would also make it conceivable that the numbers had been kept up by breeding, and increased by the importation of a few hundreds yearly from the old colonies; so that, upon the whole, without better *data* to go upon than we seem to possess, we are inclined to repose little confidence in the argument, at first sight so specious, drawn from the Trinidad census. That there have been clandestine importations into the island, and that this has been taking place since it became a felony, no one can doubt. To question it, would prove extreme ignorance of West Indian morals, and of the state to which the administration of the law is of necessity reduced, where nine persons in ten of the inhabitants are incompetent witnesses, and are moreover the property of the remaining tenth. The law then is infringed:—but neither the existence nor the measure of the infringement, can be taken with safety from the returns which have been the subject of these observations.

But it is justly remarked, that the actual extent of the illicit trade is of little moment in the question of treatment, if its existence in any degree is shown; for as long as the planters, or any considerable number of them, believe that slaves are by possibility to be procured, a change in the prevailing system of management cannot be expected. While any considerable number of planters continue to work their stock into sugar and coffee, no planter can, without incurring the risk of total ruin, adopt a more humane, and, in the end, a more profitable mode of treatment; because, in the mean while, he sinks under the unequal competition. To leave all such topics, however, and to come at once upon grounds where no shadow of a doubt can cross our path—where all is



clear and smooth, and no obstacle can possibly be raised to make us falter—what have the colonial assemblies done since the abolition?—those famous bodies whose plenitude of wisdom as of knowledge upon all local matters, it was held almost sacrilege to question?—whose perfect rectitude of intention, vast capacities of government, and indefeasible right of internal legislation, were the standing themes of their own admiration, and the grounds of rejecting every interference of the Imperial Parliament? It might have been expected that the time which has elapsed since the Abolition became inevitable, would have displayed some of the high wisdom and exalted virtue wherewithal those modern Senates are so especially gifted. But, at least, since the general Abolition Act was passed, above eight years have gone by—a considerable space of time for those mighty gifts to have operated in. What have they been doing, then, all the while, to vindicate their lofty pretensions? At least we must suppose they have conformed themselves to the new system laid down for the whole colonial dominions of the Crown; at least they have met that important change by correspondent regulations of internal police—regulations which, we had been told for half a century, they only could possibly make, because they alone were intimately versed in the complicated details of the subject. Of course, when the Parliament of the mother country said, ‘You shall no longer import new negroes,’ the Colonial parliaments, so thoroughly acquainted with the details, took steps to secure the good treatment of the slaves already under their immediate superintendence;—if not from motives of honour, and justice and humanity, yet from views of West Indian policy;—if not from a childish regard for their sable fellow-creatures, yet from a dignified and consistent tenderness towards their own white selves;—if not through any newfangled horror of murder and torture, yet haply through the more colonial and statesmanlike apprehension of mercantile loss. Some measures, indeed, were so very obvious, that even an ignorant stranger, not enjoying the high privileges of local residence, could hardly fail to perceive their necessity—insomuch, that they had been again and again pointed out in the Imperial Parliament—had even been suggested by that eminently remote and ignorant Body in its addresses to the Crown, and had been, perhaps officiously, submitted by the Crown to those local depositories of wisdom and knowledge. It required no advantages of West Indian birth or education to see, that attaching the negro to the soil was a safe and obvious measure to adopt; that the law permitting him to be sold for his master’s debt should no longer be suffered to exist; that the obstacles opposed to his

acquiring by degrees his liberty should be removed. Now, it does so happen, that it hath pleased the unfathomable wisdom, perfect local knowledge, and real, solid justice, of the whole thirteen Colonial legislatures, to do exactly *nothing at all* since the Abolition was passed into a law; unless it be, that one or two of those bodies, as if to show that such exquisite pieces of mechanism, like the wonders of Nature, though all perfect, are all dissimilar, have made some regulations, of a description the very reverse of what the Abolition system imperiously requires.

‘What benefit have the slaves in any one island yet derived from the Abolition Acts, and from the favourable disposition in the Government and Parliament of Great Britain? In their legal condition, certainly none at all. They are still the absolute property of their master; still fed, and clothed, and worked, and punished, at his discretion; a few ostensible regulations excepted, which were demonstrably futile, and have confessedly proved to be useless. Still this extreme bondage is hereditary, and perpetual; and still the slaves are daily subjected by law to hardships and miseries, against which even the champions of the colonial system have exclaimed, as cruel and needless aggravations of their lot. They are still liable to be sold at the suit of the master’s creditors, as well as by the voluntary act of the master himself; to be stripped from the domain, and exiled for ever from their homes, their families and friends, without the imputation of a fault.

‘The inexorable maintenance of this last acknowledged grievance, is the more worthy of observation, because Parliament was accused of being its author, and was called on by the colonial party to reform it. The change of that part of the colonial code was accordingly prepared for by the repeal of part of the statute 5th Geo. II. cap. 7., which was untruly represented as having given birth to this cruel branch of the law of slavery; but which certainly stood in the way of its reformation. At the instance of the late Mr Bryan Edwards, the act 37. Geo. III. cap. 119, was passed for that purpose; and it was expected that the colonial assemblies, following up the same principle, would repeal their own acts, which made slaves liable to be severed by sale from the plantation to which they belong.

‘That reformation was afterwards specifically and earnestly recommended by Government, in consequence of a parliamentary address; but not one colonial legislature, out of thirteen which exist under his Majesty’s dominion in the West Indies, has yet thought proper to comply! The slaves are every where still subject, in this instance, to a most needless, unjust, and unmerciful aggravation of their lot, peculiar to the bondage of the British colonies, though eighteen years ago it was reprobated by all parties in Parliament, and renounced by the British Legislature. Not a voice has ever been raised in its defence; not an apology has ever been offered of

adhering to it : yet still, in contempt of the recommendations of Parliament, the odious oppression is maintained.

‘ The same is the opprobrious truth as to every other legal reformation that is necessary to promote the native increase of the slaves, and meliorate their condition. Nothing, in short, has even been ostensibly attempted, but that which the assemblies have admitted to be impracticable, and which every reflecting mind must perceive to be so—the protection of slaves against domestic oppression in the exercise of the master’s power. For this idle purpose, indeed, mock laws have been made, have been laughed at, and forgot; and men who dare not complain, who are incompetent to prosecute, and whose evidence cannot be received in any court, against any free person, are referred to the law for redress, when, in the bosom of the master’s domain, they are not sufficiently fed, are worked to excess, or receive more than a limited number of lashes *at any one time!!!*

‘ Even against the more cruel wrongs of strangers, the assemblies admitted that these poor beings are not practically protected by law; because their evidence, and the evidence of all their companions, is rejected. Yet in no island has this legal impediment yet been removed.

‘ Insular laws, whose policy plainly depends on the permanence of the Slave Trade, also remain unrepealed. Many of them, for instance, discourage the breeding system, instead of favouring it; and that in no small degree. In most colonies, the revenues raised for public or parochial purposes, are chiefly raised by a poll-tax upon slaves, which attaches on them from the birth to the grave, without any allowance for infancy, or for other disability to labour for the master, either through infirmity or age. The planter, therefore, who has the largest proportion of native slaves, bears, in comparison with his ability, the heaviest share of the public burdens. If a mother should be released from field labour on account of her pregnancy, or her duties as a nurse, the master is nevertheless rated for her and for her infants too. If feeble life is kindly cherished after the hope of productive labour has ceased, the poll-tax still continues, and operates in effect as a discouragement to humanity and justice.

‘ In another instance, loudly demanding the attention of Parliament, the assemblies have not only continued, but in some colonies have very recently originated, laws calculated to perpetuate slavery, by obstructing manumissions.’ p. 36—40.

We cannot refrain from adding the following eloquent and impressive passage upon the same subject. After showing that, in ancient times, the progress of enlightened policy was marked by increasing facilities to the manumission of slaves, the Report proceeds—

‘ In England, if it be asked what cause most powerfully contri-

buted to the dissolution of the degrading bondage of our ancestors, the answer must clearly be, the extreme favour shown to individual enfranchisements by the judges and the laws. That baneful growth of foreign conquest or early barbarism, *villeinage*, had nearly overspread the whole field now covered with the most glorious harvest of liberty and social happiness that ever earth produced, and where not one specimen of the noxious weed remains: yet it was not ploughed up by revolution, or mown down by the scythe of a legislative abolition; but was plucked up, stalk by stalk, by the progressive hand of private and voluntary enfranchisement. Slavery ceased in England, only because the last slave at length obtained his manumission, or died without a child.' p. 40, 41.

It then shows, that even in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, but especially in the former, the liberation of slaves is a favourite of the law, and does in fact take place to so great an extent, that there are in Cuba 114,000 free people of colour, and only 212,000 slaves; and goes on to demand—

'In what country accursed with slavery, then, is this sinking fund of mercy, this favour of the laws to human redemption, taken away?

'Where, by an opprobrious reversal of legislative maxims, ancient and modern, do the lawgivers rivet, instead of relaxing, the fetters of private bondage, stand between the slave and the liberality of his master by prohibiting enfranchisements, and labour as much as in them lies to make that dreadful, odious state of man, which they have formed, eternal?

'Shame and horror must not deter us from revealing the truth: *It is in the dominions of Great Britain.* This foul and cruel abuse of legislative power has been reserved for Assemblies boastful of an English Constitution, and convened by the British Crown.

'Can the case be further aggravated? Yes: In the obstinate rejection of better principles; in a perverse opposition to the voice of a liberal age; and in the contumacy of these petty lawgivers towards the mother country which protects, and the Parliament that has power to controul them. The insular laws alluded to, which in many or most of our colonies re-train, and virtually prohibit, manumissions, have all originated within a very few years. They have, in their odious principle, even been innovations on the former slave codes, which freely permitted, though they did not hold out positive inducements to enfranchisement by the act of the master; and some of these cruel innovations have been made, since the time that humane reformation of the colonial slave laws was the unanimous wish of Parliament, declared in votes and addresses to the Crown, and officially made known to the Assemblies.

'Further aggravation still may seem scarcely possible; yet such is to be found in the hypocrisy of some of those iniquitous laws. With the fraudulent design of concealing from European eyes their true principle, they avoid the positive prohibition of enfranchisement,

but lay a tax upon it, heavy enough to ensure, generally speaking, the same effect; and pretend that the object is to prevent free-coloured persons becoming chargeable to their parishes, or the public. The pretence is not only false, but inconsistent with notorious truth. In the few islands in which a poor rate is ever known, the objects for relief are exclusively white persons; and the authors of these laws might be challenged to show a single instance of a free-coloured person being relieved as a parish pauper in any part of the West Indies. In fact, persons of that class have so many resources, from their capacity of sustaining labour without inconvenience from the heat of the climate, and from their mutual sympathies, connexions, and attachments, that absolute indigence is rarely, if ever, known among them.

‘ Others of these acts have spoken of dangers, from the enfranchised persons becoming indigent or idle, in a more general way, as if they went on a principle of police. But in neither of these cases is the tax so applied as to prevent the mischiefs pretended to be feared. It is to go into the insular treasury for general public purposes. The freed person may be in want, or be idle and dissolute, just as naturally, and with as little remedy, as if no duty had been laid on his enfranchisement. The only difference is, that by all the amount of the duty, his own ability, or that of his patron, to protect him from future want, is reduced. If he could himself pay or raise the sum imposed, there can be no doubt he would do so to obtain his freedom; and the law would then guard him from indigence, by taking from him all that he possessed, or obliging him to borrow on the credit of his future labour !

‘ This cruel mockery must enhance the pain of the oppression.’  
p. 42—45.

These impediments to manumission vary in the different colonies. In some they are enormous. In one, the tax is 500*l.* on each slave set free; in others, it is as high as 300*l.*; and in none less than 100*l.* currency. No exemptions are allowed; and a man who has children by a female slave, if he cannot afford the tax, must be content to be the father of slaves. If the mother is his own property, this hardship is somewhat lighter; but if she belongs to another, he cannot redeem his future children from servitude, but by both purchasing their mother, and paying the tax for her emancipation; and, should she die before her manumission, the tax must be paid for each of the children already born. Free people of colour are very frequently husbands and fathers of slaves; and they used to labour assiduously for the possession of a sum equal to their ransom. That which was formerly hard-earned, now becomes unattainable. The tax imposed by the ‘ *policy of the law*’ in those enlightened latitudes, for ever closes the door to perhaps the most natu-

ral and pure gratification which the human heart can receive. Emancipation had often been recommended as a method at once just and prudent, of encouraging slaves to be careful in rearing their offspring; and some intelligent masters had begun to practise it, by enfranchising mothers who had reared so many children to maturity. The necessity of cherishing all such means as might promote native population after the African market was shut, seemed sufficiently apparent to the dull intellects of Europeans; but the more lively apprehension of the colonists took an opposite direction, and cut off this with the other encouragements to the breeding system, at the moment that an end was put to that of buying. The inestimable benefits which had flowed from religious instruction in some of the islands, were of a nature, one should have thought, adapted to the understanding of the tropical parliaments. The reader will immediately comprehend, that we are making no allusion to the salutary influence of Christianity upon the happiness of its followers; nor yet to its effects upon their moral character. We refer to matters of a much more practical and West Indian description—to the admitted fact for example—that in some places the pecuniary value of converted negroes is greatly increased—and to the equally plain and unavoidable inference, that the discouragement of polygamy among the slaves, always found to be vain while they are unconverted, must have a direct tendency to augment their numbers by natural increase. These views, having nothing religious or sentimental in them—nothing which in any way can be denounced as romantic, but being in truth wholly of a pecuniary or numerical cast, might, we should think, have found their way into the sober and calculating councils of our sugar-planting brethren, and might have had some weight with the men ‘whose interests all lye in favour of the breeding system.’ No such thing. They not only have taken no steps to encourage religious instruction, but have again and again interposed to prevent the black population from receiving it in the only form in which it ever can reach them, as things are at present constituted, namely, by missionary preachers. The Moravians alone have converted any considerable number of slaves; and the admirable effects of their teaching are abundantly testified in the improved condition of the Antigua gangs. The zeal of pious men was beginning to carry the same blessings into other settlements, not sectaries merely, but Church-of-England missions. The wisdom of Colonial legislation took the alarm; the ‘Honourable Houses’ were in a ferment of ‘true policy’ and ‘accurate local knowledge;’ acts were regularly, and in all the forms, passed, to stop, by main force, all such

attempts at illuminating the hundreds of thousands of their pagan subjects : And though the Royal assent has been, of course, refused as often as these choice specimens of Western intellect have been sent over to England, yet they are of sufficient efficacy, during the interval, to accomplish their object—and, as often as one is annulled, another is passed. In which of the colonies have such things been enacted ? Where are the assemblies to be found, who, overlooking, in their horror of religious instruction, the direct improvement their favourite property would derive from it, instead of ‘ blessing the useful light,’ sacrifice its benefits to their love of darkness, and abandon their darling wealth itself, rather than allow the solecism, that Unchristian masters should have Christian slaves ? Is it in some little settlement recently conquered, or scarcely yet reclaimed from barbarism, where perverse habits, alien to our national character, or half-civilized views, unsuited to the present state of society, might be expected to prevail ? Is it on some rock gotten by barter from the Dutch, or some half-cleared forest, out of which a handful of desperate adventurers may have cheated or murdered the native Charaibs ?—We are compelled to confess—it is IN JAMAICA.

From the facts to which we have now been adverting, as the groundwork of our remarks, the Report deduces the inference, that none of the colonies regard the abolition as effected by the laws now in force ; and it even goes so far as to assert, that the whole of the settlements are confident of having the means of supplying themselves still with slaves, in the proportion of their actual demand for them,—a confidence which we understand the Committee to represent as, in their opinion also, well founded (p. 51.) That twenty thousand negroes, however, should yearly be smuggled, seems not easily to be believed ;—and this is indeed by no means the purpose to which we would principally apply the foregoing statements of fact. We hold them as of inestimable importance indeed, and especially in their relation to the question of a Registry : But it is for the strong light which they cast upon the character of colonial legislation, that we chiefly prize them. In this light, we must take the liberty of closing them, by recalling to the recollection of the reader certain instances of a similar nature, and leading to the same conclusions, though drawn from a period somewhat earlier, and therefore not falling within the scope of the argument maintained in the Report. In one of the colonies an act was passed ‘ *For the Security of the Subject.*’ This was, however, only half its title ;—the security intended was, ‘ by preventing the forfeiture of life and estate upon killing a negro or other slave.’ But although slave murder is no longer capital by that law, it

must not be supposed that it goes unpunished. On the contrary, it is chastised by a fine of no less than ten pounds currency,—we believe about seven pounds Sterling! It may well be imagined, that this *salutary* change in the criminal law could not have happened in any of the principal settlements, and, above all, not in one anciently peopled, abounding in white inhabitants, and valuing itself especially upon possessing the true old English character. Accordingly it was in Bermuda that the law was passed: But then it does so happen, that this monstrous act was only a copy of another passed in Barbadoes, the oldest of our settlements,—the one where the proportion of whites to blacks is by far the greatest,—where the proprietors reside the most generally,—where all classes of whites pride themselves on their genuine Anglicism, to the length of calling their island ‘Little England,’—and of preferring it ostentatiously to the larger country. The law of Barbadoes, copied by the Bermuda legislature, enacts, that ‘if any master kills or maims his slave in punishing him, or ordering him to be punished, which (it observes) seldom happens, no fine shall be imposed’ :—‘But (it proceeds) ‘if any man, of wantonness, or only of bloody-mindedness, or cruel intention, wilfully kill a negro, or other slave,’ he shall pay 15*l.* currency,—that is, 11*l.* 4*s.* Sterling! But such enormities of lawgiving must have belonged to the earliest period of colonial history, and long since ceased to pollute any civilized code? This act was in full force but a little while ago, and a proposition to repeal it in 1802, called down upon the governor of the day, the utmost indignation of the ‘Little England’ houses of assembly. The idea was treated as pregnant with danger to personal security, to the most sacred rights of property, the existing order of things, and that best of possible states of the law, its present state, in behalf of which we may imagine nearly the same topics to have been urged, which have so often overpowered the voice of humanity and justice among the lawgivers of the older and wider communities.

The argument, then, which must strike every one as irresistible, is this :—Look at the proceedings of the colonial governments; examine their history with reference to the half million of unhappy beings committed to their care; trace their whole conduct towards these, both before the means of recruiting their numbers were cut off, and since that change was effected;—and if you find every reason to distrust their professions, to reprobate their perverse, infatuated system of mismanagement, and to believe that they are now just as neglectful of their duties, or as obstinate in breaking them as ever they were—then cease to trust them—withdraw from them a confidence perpetu-



ally abused—and, whether their acts and their omissions have been owing to a belief on their parts that your Abolition laws are nugatory, or have been persisted in through some strange delusion, in spite of the efficacy of those laws—still give credit no longer to those who have betrayed their own trust, and deceived your expectations. This is the ground upon which we should feel disposed to rest the question, disentangling it as much as possible from the inquiry, whether or not the West Indians act upon a calculation of the slave trade continuing—and, if they do, whether or not their hopes are well-founded. It must at the same time be conceded to the Committee, that their inference from the proceedings of the planters is, to a certain extent, quite legitimate.

‘ Every unrepealed law adverse to the breeding system, every unrestrained oppression that impairs the health, shortens the lives, or diminishes the prolific powers of the negroes, points to the same conclusion. They collectively afford evidence of the strongest kind, that the assemblies do not regard the Abolition as effectual, but still look to Africa for the supply of their wasting population.’ p. 52.

The Report next proceeds to inquire, whether any means remain untried, within the power of the British Parliament, for effectually preventing the clandestine importation of negroes, and for securing the protection of such as have been so imported. It is manifest, and the friends of the Abolition have all along admitted, that the abolition of the slave trade by this country, while other nations continued to carry it on, nations too possessing colonies in the immediate neighbourhood of our own, could not effectually prevent the clandestine introduction of negroes from the former into the latter, unless some security could be obtained for a faithful execution, in the Islands, of the laws passed at home. Thus, it never was doubted, that those laws would be much less efficacious in the West Indies, than on the coast of Africa, and at sea. Our cruisers might safely be trusted; but our revenue officers in the colonies, living among planters, feebly supported by some, and openly opposed by others of the constituted authorities, could not so implicitly be depended upon. The law and practice of the courts, furnished, if possible, more serious obstacles to the conviction of delinquents, even if detected and brought to trial,—while one most urgent matter was of necessity left wholly unprovided for, the liberation of persons unjustly detained in slavery, having been illegally imported. The following admirable statement places this important point in the strongest light.

‘ Perhaps a reader unacquainted with colonial laws and customs,

will be ready to exclaim, "What new provision of that sort can be wanted? Have we not courts of law," it may be asked, "in these colonies? How then can a man be held there in an illegal slavery for life, without his own consent?"

'A man the most conversant with the laws of slavery now existing, or that ever did exist upon earth, except that of negroes in the Western world, might be posed with the same apparent difficulty. He would conclude, that the oppressed African had only to invoke the civil magistrate, in order to obtain immediate redress, and severely to punish the oppressor. Such a man would know the anxious care with which the awful question of slave or free has been provided for, in point of evidence and trial, by every slave code, ancient or modern, of which the historian or the lawyer is informed. The presumption of law was everywhere in favour of freedom; the *onus probandi* was everywhere cast upon the master; the forms of judicial investigation and rules of judgment, were calculated to favour the claim of liberty so greatly, that it was next to impossible such a claim, when well founded, should fail of success. It may be supposed then, that the West-Indian master would be called on to show his title; and that when it appeared to be derived under a contraband importation, the negro would at once be enlarged, and compensated in damages for his extorted labour, his false imprisonment, and the other wrongs he had received.

'Unluckily, however, these remedies, and the right of even alleging the wrong in a civil action, are barred in the British West Indies by one short objection which the complainant cannot remove: "*The man is a slave.*"

'The ancient lawgivers had weak nerves in framing their slave-codes when compared to our British assemblies. Instead of giving the slave a right of invoking the civil magistrate against all men but his master, and in some cases against the master himself, the assemblies have disabled their slaves from applying to the law for relief in any case, against any free person whatever. They cannot be heard as complainants, prosecutors, or witnesses; except against persons of their own unhappy condition.

' "But here," it may be replied, "you are on a question of slave or free. The complainant denies that he is in law a slave; and therefore it would be absurd as well as unjust, to turn him away on the ground of his slavery: '*Non valet exceptio ejusdem cujus petitur dissolutio*,' is a maxim not of any particular code, but of universal law; because a plain rule of eternal reason and justice."

'Very true; but the colonial courts have still one short rejoinder: "*His skin is black.*"

'The assemblies here again have improved wonderfully upon the slave codes of all other countries and times. They have absolved the master from the troublesome duty of proving his title. They have reversed the universal presumption of other laws; placing it, not in favour of freedom, but against it. They have cast the bur-

then of proof on the weaker and helpless party. The English lord, when trying the question of villeinage with his alleged villein or slave, was obliged even to bring into court the near relations of his opponent to prove the hereditary condition. The West India master need produce only the alleged slave himself. His condition is recorded on his face.' p. 56—58.

The Report then observes, that, before the Abolition, there was some kind of excuse for the adoption of such a principle, at least with certain limitations. The title to the slave must have depended, in most disputed cases, upon facts, and even laws and customs on the other side of the Atlantic. It might have been necessary, therefore, to allow a proof, that any negro in question was parcel of a cargo imported into the settlement, to operate as a presumption of his slavery, and cast upon him the burthen of proving that he had been wrongfully brought there. But, since the Abolition, the case is completely changed; or rather it is quite reversed; for now importation becomes a clear title to freedom, provided it took place since 1807. It was required, therefore, not merely by a regard to justice, but in strict consistency, that the presumption of law should now be changed. Proof of importation prior to 1808 might still be allowed to raise against the negro the presumption of slavery, and throw upon him the burthen of rebutting it. But every title accruing after that period must have arisen in the West Indies, and could be substantiated like the title to any other kind of property. The burthen of proof, then, ought, since the Abolition, to have been so distributed,—the master being required either to show that the negro was imported before 1808, or to deduce his title to him completely. It is needless to add, that the rule of Colonial law stands exactly as it did before; and the Report furnishes us with a few specimens of its operation, and of the branches which so fertile a root throws out.

'To such a cruel extreme does the principle prevail in Jamaica and most other colonies, that a negro is presumed to be, and is dealt with as, a slave, even when nobody lays claim to him as master. Such persons are actually taken up, seized and sold upon that presumption only, and upon the no less inequitable inference drawn from it, that they are fugitives, and of a character dangerous to the police. By positive law a negro, who has no master, may be apprehended by any white person and carried to the nearest gaol. The gaoler, or deputy provost-marshal, is then required to advertise him, with his bodily description: and if he be not claimed by some master who can prove his property within a limited time, the prisoner is to be publicly sold as a slave, and the price lodged in the colonial treasury, to be paid over to the master if he afterwards appears; otherwise to be applied to the public service.

‘ No exception is made in those acts, in favour of negroes claiming to be free ; nor any means whatever provided to enable them to prove their liberty. If a man were to be sold with his deed of manumission in his hand, it would be perfectly consistent with the law ; and the purchaser would nevertheless have a good title to hold him in slavery for life.

‘ Nor are these acts a dead letter. On the contrary, they are in very frequent use ; as every man who reads the West-India newspapers must know. In the Jamaica Gazettes especially, it is quite common to see notices from the deputy provost-marshall’s office in respect of negroes thus dealt with, who are advertised to be sold, unless claimed by somebody that can prove his property as master.

‘ In the greater part of those ordinary cases, or nearly the whole of them, it may fairly be inferred that the unfortunate prisoner alleged himself to be a free man ; because if he had confessed himself a slave he would presumably also have told to whom he belonged, or given such further account of himself as would have led to the discovery of the master. Men claiming their freedom, therefore, and found in the actual possession of it, and contradicted by nobody, are sold into slavery by the police, merely because they are black. The only additional requisite is a non-claim which tends to make it highly probable that they are lawfully free.’ p. 65, 66.

Now, the most obvious remedy for these evils, is to put down at once the maxim which we have been considering. This would give many chances of protection to the negro, and would lead gradually to still further improvements in his condition. Still he would have many difficulties to contend against ; the courts would unavoidably, in almost every instance, lean towards the master ; and negro evidence is still, by a maxim almost as universal as the one in question, inadmissible against a white man. Even if this also should be amended, and such testimony be made generally competent ; for a long time, at least, its credit would be extremely slight, and perhaps not undeservedly disregarded in questions between the two colours. Some method is therefore highly desirable, which may as little as possible depend upon a resort to colonial tribunals ; and the regulations of which may, in a great degree execute themselves. The method suggested as answering this description, and as having already been tried in the conquered colonies, is that of a General Registry of slaves, of which, as established by an order of Council in those settlements, the Report next proceeds to give the outline.

Into the details of this measure we do not purpose to enter upon the present occasion ; it will be sufficient if we merely state in what it consists, and how its object is to be accomplished. The object is to obtain a public record of the names and de-

scriptions of all persons lawfully held in slavery, comprising, under this head, every particular essential to the recognizing and identifying the individuals, so that the document may at all times be appealed to, as decisive of disputes touching the condition of any one claiming to be free, and detained in bondage by persons claiming property in him. Beside the first, or original registration, all changes, by death, birth, emancipation, transference, and other accidents, are to be recorded periodically. To enforce these registrations, it is only necessary to make the title to every slave depend upon his description being found in the records—and this, whether the title comes in question in disputes between master and slave, or between different masters. By the establishment of this inflexible rule, that the only evidence of slavery and of title, is the record, or a certified extract from it by the proper officer, each proprietor is compelled to return his original schedule, and to note in subsequent years all the alterations which take place, by annual schedules. Proper provisions are made for correcting errors, and supplying accidental omissions; and care is taken to protect the interests of slave-owners under temporary disabilities, as well as persons entitled by way of reversion or in remainder, and persons having the property without the possession. Upon these, and other branches of the detail, many observations might be made; but we are here only stating the general principle of the plan, and shall confine our attention to that. A variety of regulations are added, to prevent fraud and fabrication, and loss of the records; and it is suggested in the Report, that the duplicates, which, in the practice established by Order of Council, are transmitted to the Colony Department, should be kept in an office devoted to the exclusive purpose of keeping them, and allowing access to them. An addition, connected with this arrangement, has been also proposed, viz. that no money should be suffered to be advanced on mortgage in the mother country, excepting on the security of registered plantations; but it is quite superfluous—as no lender would be improvident enough to advance his money, without ample proof that the provisions of the plan had been complied with; and he could not be satisfied of this, without an examination on the spot, in order to compare the record with the stock on the premises.

Now, from the enactment of a law framed upon these principles, many most important consequences will unquestionably follow. In the *first* place, it has the inestimable advantage of executing itself. There might indeed be some chance of the penalties being evaded, or rather disregarded, if West Indian property were, like entailed estates in this country, remain-

ing always in the same hands, unmortgaged, and descending from father to son, without ever either coming into the land market or the money market. But this is the very reverse of being the case. A plantation much more resembles a negotiable, or at least a personal property, than a real; it is perpetually in the market; and requires supplies of money that can only be had by pledging it to the creditor. If the neglect to register a slave by the mortgagor in possession, transfers the absolute property of that slave to the mortgagee, without any allowance for his value in the account, as is the rule in Trinidad, and, still more, if such omission were made a forfeiture of the equity of redemption in the whole mortgaged premises, as is proposed in the Report, it is manifest, that how little chance soever the slave might have of obtaining his freedom by proving the omission, a party sure to be heard is interested in detecting it, and will take effectual care that the penalty is enforced. But as it is a part of the plan, that negroes should have the power of impleading their alleged masters, and that, in trying the issue of slave or free, the evidence of witnesses in a state of servitude should be competent, the detention of a free person in slavery will become impossible without the most shameless misconduct in the courts, inasmuch as they must give judgment contrary to the plain tenor of the entry in the register; and even such gross malversation could only benefit the owner until he had occasion to transfer or pledge his property, when it must be at once detected. We may further observe, that the act of detaining an unregistered negro will furnish at all times a presumption of a felony having been committed, so strong, that men who might not scruple to benefit by it in the dark, would probably be scared from it, by being thus held up to the public suspicion of having been concerned in such a transaction.

*Secondly*, it is manifest that this system, when enforced, will most effectually cut off the importation of slaves, whatever it may be, which is still practised in many, if not all, of our colonies. This abolition will be yet more complete than that which the laws now in force have already effected at the other end of the voyage; for it will render the article illegally imported of no value, or rather will make its possession dangerous in the extreme. Not only will the means of tracing the perpetrators of the felony be greatly increased, but the possession of unregistered slaves (and all negroes clandestinely imported must be unregistered) will shake the security of a planter's whole title, as often as he has occasion to sell or mortgage. Who, indeed, would either purchase or lend upon an estate, the description of which varied from the record in the most essential and valuable parti-

cular of the property? Even the general non-residence of proprietors, so detrimental in other respects, and which has hitherto been the fruitful source of maltreatment to their negroes, will now be converted into an instrument of good; for it can hardly be expected that managers, having little or no interest in the crime, will run the risk of the severe penalties attached to falsification of the annual returns;—a consideration, the force of which seems not to have struck the Committee in their remarks upon the case with which the existing laws, especially the Felony Act, are stated by them to be evaded.

But we confess that there is a *third* circumstance, which, more than any other, recommends the proposed measure to our regard—its direct and infallible tendency to improve the condition of the negroes, and this not only by effectually cutting off the hopes of buying, and thus compelling the planters to take care of their stock, but by calling for periodical statements of the progress which the negro population on each estate has made since the last return. All deaths, and all important casualties, must now be faithfully registered every year;—so must almost all elopements and recaptures. The owner, or his manager, that is, whoever has the actual care of the negroes, and incurs the responsibility for their treatment, must render an account annually of the manner in which he has executed his great and serious trust. He will now begin to feel that he has some hundreds, perhaps, of human beings committed to his care, and that he is answerable for the greater part of the ills which may befall them. Unless he can account for their decrease by deaths, or for their maimed and unthriving condition, to his mismanagement must the change be ascribed. At first, perhaps, this may only prevent great atrocities—may only shame such wretches, if such there be, as a Hodge, who murdered his slaves in cold blood by scores—but it will soon spread farther; and no one will be very anxious to have it recorded in his neighbourhood, and the fact also certified in England, that, during the last year, so many of his slaves died of blows or wounds; so many of overwork; and that there remain such and such a number, whose descriptions must be altered, in consequence of scars or mutilations. It would be a most important addition, in this point of view, to require the medical attendant of each plantation to attest all the facts within his knowledge in each schedule; so that, if a violent death is accounted for, by falsely ascribing it to disease, the surgeon may detect the fraud. If any one would form an estimate of the probable benefits to be derived in this way from the Registry, let him only reflect whether Hodge could have gone on above a year or two in his career of blood, if he or his

overseer had been under the necessity of recording each death that happened in his gang, with all its circumstances. It is a happy provision of Nature (we mean, of course, the power which created and governs all things), that those who can do murder, cannot so easily make plausible stories; and that, though one act of darkness may be thus concealed, suspicion is sure to be awakened by the next tale that is told. If Hodge's first return had imputed the extraordinary mortality to various diseases and accidents, even should no inquiry have been in the mean time excited into the particulars, men's suspicions would unavoidably have been awakened when they saw the next year renew the same tale; and it is difficult to imagine, that he could have ventured upon a continuance of his atrocious system during a third year, if he escaped detection and punishment for the past. Besides, all is not black malignant design in the more ordinary cases of bad management. Men's natures are not so completely reversed, changed though they be, by the slave system, as to thirst for the misery of their negroes, and the eventual deterioration of their valuable property. Much is doubtless owing to carelessness and inattention; more still is imputable to the ignorance of the owner, and the bad conduct of his resident managers. The new system will impose new checks upon inadvertency, and afford accurate information to the absentees. It will excite the care, and even stimulate the vanity, of resident proprietors and managers, thus correcting abuses which are not the less extensive for being founded in a comparatively trivial neglect of duty.

To attain all these important ends; to abolish the illicit slave traffic; to encourage the increase of the Negro population by natural means; to mitigate the severity of treatment which at present degrades that unhappy class of our fellow-subjects; and to prepare the way, by slow degrees, and with perfect security both to the rights of the master and the peace of the community, for their at length attaining the happy condition of a free peasantry,—the instrument seems plainly within reach of the Legislature; they have only to extend over our other colonies the Registry Law, already in force by Order of Council in Trinidad, St Lucia, and the Isle of France.

It remains only, that we shortly advert to the objections which may be urged against this important measure. They are candidly stated in the concluding section of the Report; and met, and we think, refuted, very triumphantly.

Most of these objections were pressed repeatedly and vehemently by the inhabitants of Trinidad, when the government were occupied with the establishment of the measure there by Royal authority. It was contended that the plan would greatly



irritate the feelings of the people, who were universally and strongly averse to it. No one could doubt the fact; but by *people*, of course, was meant the very small proportion of about four per cent. of the population, that is, the Whites;—and, as the Report justly observes, if, while this minute proportion were loud against the change, all the rest of the inhabitants, who must have been for it, were silent—‘*dum tacent clamant*: Their ‘incapacity to speak for themselves is equivalent to a host of ‘petitions; and the popular voice is on their side,’

The expense was next magnified; and the moderate fees imposed by the Order in Council to defray it, were complained of as enormous: This, however, if it had been well founded, was not an objection to the principle, and could easily have been remedied. The load of trouble thrown upon planters and their agents, was also exaggerated, and bitterly deprecated: But it is a trifle indeed, compared with what every housekeeper in England has to bear, in making his yearly returns under the Tax acts. It is also of a nature well known in many of the colonies, where returns are required for the purposes of revenue: And it affords many advantages of securities to the title, and of convenience, and security also, to purchasers and creditors. The severity of the penalties was still more violently exclaimed against. ‘What! Forfeit a master’s right over his slave, because he has omitted to register him?’ It is a sufficient answer, to remind the objectors that the same principle runs through our whole law. A ship forfeits her privileges as a British built vessel, if her owner does not comply with the regulations (and they are not very simple ones) of the Ship Registry acts. The grantee of an annuity loses it entirely, if he has failed to register the memorial of it. All contracts are void where writing has been omitted, when the statute of Frauds requires it. This objection seems wholly misplaced; for if the object of the plan is a proper one, and desirable on its own merits, there appears to be no other way of attaining it, than by making its adoption compulsory, in the same manner as all similar measures have been carried into effect. Besides, as the Report observes, the object of the Registry is to protect the rights of free men detained as slaves; and though, in effecting this, ‘it explodes ‘that more than barbarous maxim, that unprecedented despotism, born of the African slave trade and colonial legislation, ‘which presumes a man’s slavery from the colour of his skin; ‘yet at the same time, it gives a new and very convenient species of evidence to the true master, for the proof not only of ‘the servile condition, but of his own property in the slave. If, ‘through perverseness or negligence, he will not provide that e-

‘vidence, in the simple and easy way prescribed to him by the law, it is just, and it is necessary, that he should be debarred from exercising the rights of an owner. It is impossible to be more tender of those rights, without leaving in extreme jeopardy, the far more valuable rights of free men, who have committed no default at all.’ (p. 87, 88.)—It was farther objected, that the operation of the Registry would occasion so many enfranchisements, as must endanger the peace and security of the colony. To this, a twofold answer is at hand ;—the immoderate increase in the numbers of free negroes, far from being an evil, has been found highly beneficial in all the West Indian settlements ; and there is not the smallest risk of slave-owners allowing many to gain their freedom by omitting to register them. We might almost as rationally be apprehensive of our mercantile navy losing the privileges of British navigation ; and then, where the risk of omission is greatest, as in default by tenants for life and mortgagors in possession, the neglect does not produce manumission, but only forfeiture. But the planters will combine—they will make common cause, and one and all refuse to register ;—they will follow the example of the colonists in North America, and enter into Non-Registration Agreements. This was threatened, and even tried, in Trinidad ; and the following history of the experiment is exceedingly edifying, and casts abundant light upon the importance of West Indian menace and swagger.

‘In Trinidad an opposition the most general, strenuous, and violent, was made to the execution of the Order in Council, from the moment of its promulgation. The opposition was countenanced even by persons in authority there ; and many of the largest proprietors, if not a great majority of their body, pledged themselves by public declarations and mutual agreements, that they would never make the prescribed returns of their slaves for the purpose of registration. Nothing could be more apparently hopeless than a general compliance ; yet before the expiration of the time first limited by public notification, a very great majority had sent in their returns to the Registry.

‘It was thought necessary, by the local government, to enlarge that time, on account of impediments and causes of delay not foreseen by the framers of the law ; and, before the extended period had elapsed, all the defaulters complied. It is not known, at least, that any one owner of slaves ultimately stood out ; though a few returns came so late, that it was supposed they could not be registered, consistently with the general regulations of the law, unless under a special power given to the governor, in cases of involuntary default.’ p. 90, 91.

Thus far the objections used against the Registry introduced

by Royal authority, and which have in part been answered by the event itself. But the argument which is most likely to be relied upon in opposition to the legislative measure, could not be urged either by the planters of the conquered islands, or of Trinidad, where the power of the Crown to legislate was unquestionable.\* The inhabitants of the old colonies, however, are understood to hold a doctrine hostile to the right of the mother country to interfere, as they phrase it, in their internal administration. Admitting, say they, that the adoption of the plan in question is desirable, it belongs not to the British Parliament, but to the colonial legislatures, to establish it; they having, constitutionally, the right of internal regulation. While some decorously state the mere question of right, others add insinuations touching the power of the mother country, and, as a case in point, refer her to the resistance which she met with the last time she interfered with the colonial authorities.

For an ample and detailed refutation of these positions, we must refer to the Report itself; but we think a very few words may suffice to show the fallacy of the only one that deserves a moment's attention, the denial of the mother country's right to legislate internally for the colonies. This right is firmly established upon principle, declared by existing and undisputed statutes, and recognized by precedents, in a long, uninterrupted current of practice. It is established upon principle—for can a more monstrous instance of '*imperium in imperio*' be imagined, than each colony having an independent parliament, invested with powers of exclusive legislation? And can any man's subtlety go so far as to draw the line between the cases in which Parliament is on all hands admitted to have the right, and those in which it is denied? It is declared by statute. The declaratory act, 6 *Geo. III. c. 12.* asserts, that Parliament 'had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies'—'*in all cases whatsoever.*' And when an exception was made, not more from prudence in our opinion, than in strict justice to the colonies, during the American war, by the 18. *Geo. III. c. 12.* it was confined to the single case of taxation, the former act remaining unrepealed, and the whole extent of its declaration subsisting with this single exception. 'The right is no less clearly recognized by constant, we may almost say daily, practice, ever since England had colonies; and as much

\* Not that it was not called into doubt; but measures having been taken to raise the question, the opposition upon this ground was found wholly unfounded in law, and speedily abandoned.

since the American revolution as before it. To take only a few instances.—No law in the colonies is more frequently appealed to than 5 Geo. II. c. 7., which makes lands, tenements, and slaves liable to be taken in execution and assets for payment of simple contract debts, contrary to the common law of England. By the 37th of the King, a particular section of this act was repealed; its force being not only left unimpeached, but plainly acknowledged by implication. The 14 Geo. II. c. 37. prohibits certain stock-jobbing speculations in the West Indies; the 13. Geo. III. c. 14. enables aliens there to lend money upon security of real estates, and regulates the mode of enforcing their rights in the colonial courts as mortgagees; the 14. Geo. III. c. 79. giving validity to West Indian mortgages made in England, at more than legal interest, expressly regulates their *registration within the colonies*. All the revenue acts operate within the colonies; and generally by the establishment of judicatures unknown to the common law. Nay, it is admitted that every thing relating to trade is of the imperial cognizance of Parliament; although not an act can be passed relative to such subjects that does not lay down the most detailed regulations to operate in the settlements. The abolition laws, 46 Geo. III., 47 Geo. III., and 51 Geo. III., have never seriously been alleged to be any excess of power in the mother country; and yet the two first subject the colonist's property, and the last his person, to be tried by local judicatures, for things only prohibited by these statutes;—things not merely allowed, but highly favoured by the colonial laws.

The matter of right, then, standing clear of all doubt, we confess that after the remarks and *the facts* which have been stated in a former part of this discussion, we are disposed to waste very little time upon what remains of the question; and are inclined to make a short way through the matter of expediency. We have seen enough surely of the local authorities, to harbour a thought of leaving in their hands any one measure relative to the interests of the black population, unless there be some ground laid for impeaching either the right of Parliament to interfere, or its capacity to act with effect. In the present case, the right and the capacity appear to stand equally clear. Many powerful and ingenious topics are urged in the Report, to evince the absurdity of leaving this great work to the colonial legislatures; and it is satisfactorily shown, that they are not able to accomplish it if they were willing, unless they could all meet in a Congress by deputies from thirteen settlements, to arrange the general plan. But for our parts, we apprehend the unwillingness—the repugnance—the epidemic horror of such

colonies towards every thing like a forced improvement in the condition of their slaves, or what they will term every 'interference between a man and his property,'—afford by far the most irresistible argument for refusing to trust them with the adoption of such a measure. And we shall close this article, by suggesting to those who may be called upon, in their official and public capacities, to consider the question, the topics of clamour and artifice by which they are likely to be assailed, and we will venture to predict, nearly in the same words in which they will be conveyed.

*First*, They will be told not 'to stir so delicate a question as 'that which lost us our North American colonies.' If by delicate, is meant nice, as a question of law, we have showed that it is one of the plainest which can be mooted; and that it is *not* the question which lost us America. But if a threat of following the example of America be meant, that is, rebelling;—then the answer is, that what was boldness in the one case would be impudence in the other; and that England must be reduced very low indeed, before she can feel greatly alarmed at a Carribbee Island, like Lord Grizel in Tom Thumb, exclaiming, 'Sdeath, I'll be a rebel.'

Next it will be said, 'What! interfere between a man and 'his own property—between the master and his slave?' To which the answer is obvious,—that it is exactly because man is the property of man—because the question is between a master and his own slave—that interference becomes necessary; but that the proposed interposition is moderate, systematic, and far from being minute and oppressive, differing signally from the attempts at interference made by the wisdom of colonial legislation—which were indeed mere pretexts, and in their nature incapable of being enforced, such as restricting the number of lashes to be inflicted at one time. But as long as half a million of our fellow creatures are the property of a thousand or two, it becomes us to use all lawful means which are likely to be effectual in preventing a power so awfully liable to be abused, from working the degradation, the misery and the destruction of such a multitude of unoffending human beings.

*Lastly*, we shall be desired to leave those matters of internal regulation in the hands of the colonial legislators, whose interests must prompt, as their knowledge will enable them, to deal more successfully with a subject so complicated in its details.—To which many answers at once present themselves. All this was said against the Abolition; and had it been listened to, in all certainty the abolition would never more have been heard of. And in order to teach us how far reliance can be

placed upon the course pointed out by 'colonial interests,' and 'local knowledge,' we have only to read the statute books of the most accomplished, experienced, and enlightened of the islands—of Jamaica, prohibiting the negroes from being taught;—of Barbadoes, punishing with a fine of 11*l.* 14*s.* their cold-blooded murder.

For these reasons, we can have no hesitation in anxiously exhorting all the friends of the Abolition, and the enemies of injustice and oppression, by what names soever they may be called, to rally round the measure brought forward at the close of the last session by Mr Wilberforce, after Mr Stephen, its learned and ingenious author, had retired from public life;—retired, as we are well assured, upon grounds connected with that measure. We have too often had occasion to differ widely with both those eminent individuals upon political questions, especially with the latter, to leave any doubt in the mind of the reader that the feeble tribute which has here been bestowed, is extorted by the conduct of the men and the merits of the measure, without any personal or party feeling. But we might have been liable to the imputation of both, had we stifled the expression of sentiments so unavoidably called forth upon the present occasion, by that important subject which has now occupied these pages for thirteen years of various publick fortune—and which alone, perhaps, of all political topics, has afforded a point of union for the wise and the good of every class,—alone, in the mighty fluctuations of human affairs, has displayed a ground where men might conscientiously hold the same straight forward course, without being inconsistent. \*

---

\* The attacks which have recently been made upon the African Institution and some of its active members, particularly upon a gentleman to whose distinguished merits we have frequently borne our feeble testimony, the late Secretary, Mr Macaulay, would certainly have claimed our attention, had we been able to discuss in this Number the Annual Report. The defence, however, both of the Association and the individual, is fully before the publick; and as nothing can be conceived more satisfactory, the result has been so universal a conviction of the charges being entirely groundless, that we deem it unnecessary to do more than unite ours with the voice of all impartial persons who have bestowed any attention upon the subject.

ART. III.     *The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church.*     By  
the Rev. JOHN LINGARD.     Second Edition.

OF all the virtues of an historian, impartiality is the most rare. Contemporary authors are exposed to bias by their enmities or their affections; and, among general historians, we meet with none who are entirely exempt from national partiality, or completely divested of the deep-rooted prejudices communicated by sect or party. Even the candid temper and philosophic mind of Hume were not proof against the influence of those passions. It would be unreasonable, then, to expect that a Catholic clergyman, zealously attached to his communion, should be able to write, with impartiality, the history of a period obscured and perplexed by the controversies of Catholic and Protestant.

Let us do justice, however, to Mr Lingard. His work is the fruit of great labour and research. He has frequently detected, and exposed with success, though not without asperity, the errors of Protestant historians; and if he has sometimes treated his adversaries with flippant and offensive petulance, he has on many occasions pointed out and corrected their misrepresentations and mistakes. We find no fault with the opinions, expressed with freedom and supported with learning, which he has advanced and defended in his history. His subject naturally led him to topics of discussion between Catholic and Protestant; and we cannot blame him for espousing the interests, and maintaining the doctrines, of his own church. The usefulness of confession, the merits of penance, and the advantages of absolution, we leave him to settle with our divines. We cannot say we feel much interest or curiosity about the form of words, in which our barbarous ancestors chose to clothe their ignorance of the mystery of transubstantiation; but we can understand that Mr Lingard annexes importance to such inquiries. We can excuse his admiration of monks, and listen with patience to his eulogies of celibacy. We neither believe in the miracles, nor can give our implicit assent to the virtues and merits of his saints and confessors; but we agree with him in reprobating the rash and illiberal censures of modern historians, who stigmatize them in a body as a collection of knaves and hypocrites. To the clergy of the dark ages, Europe owes much of her civilization, her learning, and her liberty. But though we admire the warmth with which Mr Lingard vindicates the character of these men from unjust aspersions and indiscriminate abuse, we

cannot approve of the artifices he not unfrequently condescends to employ, in order to palliate their faults, or throw a veil over their crimes. Where it serves his purposes of vindication, we find him suppressing or perverting the evidence of our ancient historians, and giving a false and partial colouring to the transactions which they relate. By dealing thus uncandidly with his readers, we fear he has excluded his work, which, in its general character is learned and liberal, from the place it would otherwise have justly merited among the best and most valuable of our modern histories. The instances we are going to adduce of this unfair and disingenuous conduct in Mr Lingard, relate, in general, to points of no great importance in themselves, but they show the spirit in which his book is written, and enable us to judge of the credit due to his conclusions, and of the confidence with which we may rely on his work as a safe and sure guide to historical truth.

The story of Edwy and Elgiva has been told by Hume with his usual felicity of narration; and no one, we will venture to say, has ever perused the history of their misfortunes, in the pages of that inimitable writer, without being inflamed with indignation against the rude violence of Dunstan, and the savage ferocity of Odo. We must confess that Mr Lingard has somewhat dispelled the charm. After the minute investigation he has bestowed on the subject, little remains of the romantic story of Edwy and Elgiva that is deserving of credit. The lady banished to Ireland by Archbishop Odo, and murdered on her return from exile, was the mistress, not the wife of Edwy. Of this fact we can bring evidence more direct and conclusive than that produced by Mr Lingard. In the history of St Oswald by Eadmer, there is the following decisive passage, which seems to have eluded the researches of Mr Lingard, as it had escaped the notice of all our former historians. ‘*Edwius, qui quartus a præfato Methelstano regni Anglorum scepra tenebat, voluptatum amator magis quam dei, luxuriæ quam sobrietatis, libidinum quam castitatis, regiam dignitatem obscœnis operibus dehonestabat; ac viros virtutum parvipendens, contra æquum exasperabat. Unde beatus Dunstanus tunc temporis Abbas Glastoniensis, eo quod ad suggestionem et imperium sæpe sati Odonis ipsum regem illicitis amplexibus violenter abstraxit, e patria pulsus est; et denum innumera per Angliam mala ab eodem rege patrata. Contra quem Odo armaturæ Spiritus Sancti præcinctus exurgens, iniquitatum illius publicus hostis effectus est; nec destitit, donec sopitis incestibus regnum ab infandæ mulieris infamia, cui rex idem omnia conjugæ suæ sæpius commiscebatur, expurgaret. Eam siqui-*



‘dem suorum militum manu vallatus, a regali curia in qua mansitabat vi abduxit, abductam perpetuo exilio in Hibernia condemnavit.’ \* It is true then, as Mr Lingard contends, that it was not the young and innocent queen of Edwy who was banished to Ireland, but an unworthy rival, that resided publicly in the palace with her husband, and shared openly in his bed. But though the discovery of this fact materially alters the general complexion of the story, it is not the less true that Archbishop Odo was guilty of outrageous violence in breaking into the palace with his band of ruffians; and after he got possession of his prey, it is not the less certain, that he committed a wanton and unfeeling act of cruelty on her person, by disfiguring and branding her face with a red-hot iron, before he dismissed her to her place of exile. What course has Mr Lingard taken to vindicate the Archbishop from this charge of outrage, aggravated by cruelty?

He has told us, in the first place, that the great council of the nation had attempted in vain to interrupt the commerce of this woman with the king ‘suspensii comminatione;’ though he knew, that this menace proceeded not from the Witenagemote, or from any other judicial tribunal, but from the riotous and drunken party of prelates and nobles, whom the king left at table, when he retired to his private apartment after his coronation dinner. † And, in the next place, he would persuade us, that, in breaking into the palace, and in branding and banishing this unfortunate woman, the Archbishop was merely the executioner of a judicial sentence pronounced by an assembly of the nobility and clergy, in which that prelate had presided, in the absence of the king; though he had before him the life of Odo by Eadmer, in which it is expressly stated, that, ‘*Pontificali auctoritate usus (i. e. Odo) unam de præscriptis mulieribus, missis militibus a curia regis, in qua mansitabat, violenter adduxit; et eam in facie deturpatam hæc candenti ferro denotatam perpetua in Hiberniam exilii relegatione detrusit.*’ ‡ We are here distinctly told, that it was by his pontifical authority that Odo acted, and therefore not in his capacity of president of the Witenagemote.

The unfortunate woman, banished in this manner to Ireland, having ventured at a subsequent period to return to England, the retainers of the Archbishop intercepted her at Gloucester; and, to render her further escape impossible, they had the cruelty to divide the nerves and sinews of her legs, and to leave her

\* *Anglia Sacra*, t. ii. p. 192.

† *Anglia Sacra*, t. ii. p. 105.

‡ *Ib.* p. 84.

in that miserable state, to expire by a lingering death in acute torments. Mr Lingard is 'not disposed to justify this murder; though he believes, that, according to the stern maxims of Saxon jurisprudence, a person returning without permission from banishment, might be executed without the formality of a trial;' but he doubts whether the Archbishop was 'privy to her death.' What were the stern maxims of Saxon jurisprudence, that could authorize so atrocious an act of cruelty, we leave Mr Lingard to explain, when he has discovered them; but, with respect to the participation of Odo in her murder, we have only to quote the words of his biographer. Having told us, that after the recovery of her beauty, this unfortunate woman returned to England, he adds, that at Gloucester, 'ab hominibus servi dei comprehensa, et ne meretricio more ulterius vaga discurreret, subnervata, post dies aliquot mala morte præsentis vitæ sublata est. Erat quippe summus Pontifex Odo vir virtutum robore et grandævinitatis maturitate ac constantia fultus.\* Malmsbury, too, informs us, that the Archbishop put an end to the intercourse of the King with his strumpet, 'primo expulsionem, post succisura poplitis:† And Gervase tells the same atrocious story with the same placid indifference—'beatus Odo missis militibus mulierem fornicariam a curia regis violenter abstraxit, et in facie candenti ferro deturpatam in exilium misit. Quæ cum obducta cicatrice in Angliam rediret, per eundem Archiepiscopum iterum rapta et subnervata est.‡ Mr Lingard ought to have been aware, that the more antient panegyrist of the worthy prelate not only acknowledge, but exult in the deed.

Mr Lingard imputes the prosecution and banishment of Dunstan to the resentment and vengeance of this woman, whom he calls Ethelgiva. But, in the first place, he ought to have told us, that, according to the testimony of many respectable historians, Dunstan was exiled, not for his rudeness and violence to Edwy, but on a charge of having embezzled the treasures of King Edred, which had been entrusted to his care. Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, and Roger Hoveden, state expressly, that 'pro justitia ascriptus mare transiit;' and Walsingham adds, 'suspectus enim erat Eadwino omni tempore Dunstanus eo quod tempore Eadredi thesauros patrum suorum custodisset, sub cuius obtentu suspicionis etiam ipsa mulier impudens licentiam a rege acceperat omnes facultates et

\* *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 84.

† *De gestis Pontificum*, lib. i. p. 114.

‡ *X Scriptores*, p. 1646.

‘supellectilem Sancti proscribendi.’ \* This sentence was possibly unjust, though it does not appear of what private property a monk could be possessed, that was made the subject of confiscation: But it would have been more candid in Mr Lingard to have informed his readers, that, besides resentment for the interference of Dunstan with the King’s amours, there was another reason alleged for his condemnation. And, in the second place, no ancient historian whom we have been able to consult, imputes the persecution of Dunstan to Ethelgiva; and, on the contrary, every one who names the enemy of that celebrated Abbot, calls her Elgiva. According to Mathew of Westminster, it was Elgiva, who rebuked Dunstan for his unseasonable intrusion into the royal apartment, on the evening of the coronation; it was Elgiva who poisoned the King’s mind against the holy man; it was the same Elgiva who procured his banishment, and endeavoured to put out his eyes; and it was the same Elgiva who was afterwards separated from the King by Odo, ‘vel causa con- sanguinitatis, vel quia illam ut adulteram adamavit.’ † John of Wallingford is in the same story. It was Elgiva whom a forward tongue, and confidence in the King’s affection, prompted to abuse Dunstan for his intrusion on the evening of the coronation; it was ‘impudens illa mulier’ who inflamed the animosity of Edwy against Dunstan and the monks; it was the hand of the Queen which Dunstan found every where raised against him; it was the hatred of the Queen which stirred up discord in the convent of Glastonbury, and excited the greater part of the monks against their abbot: And it was the malevolence of the Queen, as well as of the King, which struck terror in his friends, and left him without aid or advice in his afflictions. ‡ What does Mr Lingard oppose to this evidence? He takes no notice of it at all; he keeps it entirely out of sight; and boldly assumes the fact that Ethelgiva was the persecutor of Dunstan. In his indignation against her, he calls her contemptuously ‘the woman;’ and, having prepared his readers by this phraseology for what follows, he ingeniously quotes, in illustration of his story, a passage from Wallingford, in which that historian says, ‘parentela mulieris prosequens—sancti oculos eruere disponebat.’ But he could not be ignorant, in making this quotation, that the ‘mulier’ of Wallingford was not his ‘woman,’ but the Queen.

Mr Lingard is confident that ‘Edwy was not married to Elgiva at the time of his coronation;’ but he is willing to admit,

---

Scriptores XV. tom. i. p. 542.     † p. 196. Edit. of 1601

‡ Scriptores XV. tom. i. p. 543.

that, 'after the banishment' of Ethelgiva, the King 'took Elgiva to his bed, as his mistress, or married her within the prohibited degrees.' Of these two positions the first is doubtful; and the second, as far as relates to the date of the marriage, certainly erroneous. That Edwy was married at the time when Odo broke into his palace with a band of soldiers, we are expressly told by Eadmer, in the passage formerly quoted from the life of St Oswald. That he was married before the exile of Dunstan, appears from the narrative of Wallingford, who repeatedly mentions the Queen among the enemies of that holy personage. Malmsbury informs us of his marriage before he gives an account of his coronation; from which it seems reasonable to infer, as modern historians have done, that his marriage preceded that event. Mr Lingard, it is true, calls the expression ambiguous, which speaks of the marriage; and finds fault with Mr Carte for the boldness of his translation of it. 'Proxime cognatam invadens uxorem,' is the phrase of the historian, and Mr Carte renders it, 'the King had married a wife nearly related to him.' We have nothing to urge for the latinity of Malmsbury; but we confess there seems to us no doubt of his meaning. The monk of Ramsay had used almost the same phrase to express the same marriage. Speaking of Edwy, he says, 'cujusdam cognatæ suæ eximie speciei juveniculæ illicitum invasit matrimonium.'† We own there are difficulties in the supposition of Edwy's marriage with Elgiva, before his coronation; and we must add, that after all the pains bestowed by Mr Lingard in elucidating this portion of our history, there still remains great obscurity and uncertainty in parts of it. But we think it clearly proved, that Edwy was married before the banishment of the woman sent to Ireland, and before the exile of Dunstan; and, from a passage in the history of Ramsay, we think it probable, that it was the opposition of Dunstan to the marriage of the King with his kinswoman, that converted the Queen into the mortal enemy of the Abbot. The separation of Edwy and Elgiva, on the ground of consanguinity, did not take place till three years afterwards; and, therefore, incredible as it may appear to Mr Lingard, 'the active and inflexible Odo' waited three years before he performed that, which he must 'daily have considered as an imperious and indispensable duty.'

But it is not in the history of Edwy and Elgiva only, where we find Mr Lingard a disingenuous advocate and partial historian, wherever the reputation of saints is concerned. We shall give a few more examples of the same spirit from other parts of the life of Dunstan.

† Gale, tom. i. p. 390.

The catastrophe at Calne, which bestowed a final victory on the monks over the secular clergy, has been imputed by Mr Turner to the contrivance of Dunstan. Mr Lingard ridicules Mr Turner for the discovery, as he is pleased to call it, of ‘a secret which, during almost eight centuries, had eluded the observation of every historian;’ and, among other objections to the charge against the primate, he urges ‘the impolicy of involving in the same fate his friends as well as his adversaries.’ To confirm the impression he wishes to give of this transaction, he quotes ‘the simple narrative of the Saxon Chronicle, the most faithful register of the times.’—‘This year the principal nobility of England fell at Calne from an upper floor, except the holy Archbishop Dunstan, who stood upon a beam. And some were grievously hurt, and some did not escape with their lives.’ But why does he suppress the account of Osbern? “To Christ as judge (exclaimed Dunstan to the assembly) I commit the care of his church.”—‘Dixit et quod dixit irati dei censura firmavit. Mox enim concussa est domus, ctenaculum sub pedibus solutum, *hostes* solo præcipitati ac ruentium trabium pondere oppressi sunt; *ubi vero cum suis sanctus accubabat, ibi nulla ruinæ suffusio fiebat.*’\* If Osbern is unworthy of credit, as an ‘injudicious biographer, whose anile curiosity collected and embellished every fable,’ the same objection cannot be made to Eadmer, one of the best and most sensible of the monkish historians. But Eadmer informs us, that Dunstan having concluded his speech against the secular clergy by saying, ‘Domino deo causam ecclesiæ suæ contra insurgentes hostes tuendam committo. Dixit; et ecce solarium sub pedibus eorum, qui adversus virum convenerant, e vestigio cecidit. *omnesque pariter præcipitados in suo casu non modicam læsit. Ubi vero Dunstanus cum suis consistebat, nulla ruina domus, nullus emererat casus. Hoc igitur modo calumnia clericorum est sopita.*’† After reading this account, we must own we are inclined to the opinion of Archbishop Parker, who, it seems, ascribed the misfortune at Calne, as Mr Lingard gently terms it, ‘to a conspiracy between the devil and the monks.’

In a council held at Winchester, ‘it is said that a voice issued from a crucifix, exclaiming, “All is well; make no change.” Mr Turner, with his usual fidelity and candour,’ says Mr Lingard, ‘describes this voice as an artifice of the primate: I would rather say, that the whole history is no more than a popular tale, adopted and perhaps improved by later writers: it was unknown to the more antient historians.’ Who are the

\* *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 112.† *Ib.* p. 220.

historians whom Mr Lingard has chosen on this occasion to distinguish as the more antient, he has left us to guess. The story is to be found in Osbern, † and is thus related by Eadmer. In a council held at Winchester, to take into consideration a petition from the ejected clergy, the king and nobles, moved with pity for their distress, entreated Dunstan in their favour. The primate was silent, and with his eyes fixed on the ground, revolved in his mind what was best to be done. The assembly in suspense waited for his answer. ‘Tunc subito crucifixi dei imago signo crucis in edito domus affixa audientibus cunctis dixit, “Non fiet, non fiet. Judicastis bene, mutaretis non bene.” Tremefacto in his simul universo conventu, intulit pater Dunstanus, et ait: Quid amplius vultis, fratres mei? Divina sententia definitum audistis negotium præsens. Aiunt, audivimus vere.’ § Had it been the intention of the historian to have exposed the credulity of the age, and knavery of the primate, he could not have depicted them in plainer colours.

Mr Lingard is disposed to triumph over Hume, on account of some trifling inaccuracies, into which that historian has fallen, in his narrative of an infamous act of sacrilege and brutality, perpetrated by Edgar, the great patron of the Monks. That prince carried off a lady by force from a convent, and committed violence on her person; for which offences he was sharply rebuked by Archbishop Dunstan, and compelled to do penance. Hume has taken his account of this transaction from Malmsbury; and has very nearly given an exact transcript of the words of that author.—‘But it was his duty,’ says Mr Lingard, ‘to have collated the different passages; and not to have incautiously imposed on himself, and insulted the credulity of his readers.’—The name of the lady, it seems, was not Editha, but Wulfrith; and in this correction, Mr Lingard is in the right.—She was not a nun, but pupil to the nuns; but though she is so described by Eadmer, and, in one place, by Malmsbury, Mr Lingard is quite aware, that she is called by Osbern ‘deo devota virgo’ and ‘sponsa Christi;’ and that Malmsbury, in his history, speaks of her as being ‘virginis deo dicatæ.’—Hume has said, ‘the king was not obliged,’ by Dunstan, ‘to separate himself from his mistress;’ to which Mr Lingard tartly replies, ‘they did separate;’ and refers for the fact to Malmsbury. When we look to Malmsbury, we find the following passage, on the separation of the king from his mistress—‘Illa quoque partu explicito voluptati frequentandæ non inhæsit; sed doluit potius et sprevit, sanctaque pro vero asseritur

† Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 112.

§ Ib. p. 219.

'et celebratur;'—from which it is quite clear, that the Archbishop *did not separate* the king from his mistress, but that Edgar continued to cohabit with her, or, as Malmsbury expresses it, 'Non semel in thoro suo collocavit,' till she had brought him a child; after which, she retired of her own accord to a convent, like another *Sœur Jeanne*, to edify or provoke its inmates with her repentance. The merit of the separation is, therefore, due to the lady, and not to the prelate, who seems to have tolerated the scandal for the sake of the penance. Hume, it must be owned, has not related all the particulars of the expiation prescribed by the Archbishop for this offence. But how does it happen, that Mr Lingard, who reproaches him with so much petulance for his carelessness in that respect, should himself have overlooked, or kept out of sight, one of the most important articles of the penance?—'Clericos etiam male actiones de ecclesiis propelleret, monachorum agmina introduceret.'\* The omission of this clause is the more remarkable, because it is the beginning of a sentence, on the remaining part of which, Mr Lingard has not disdained to bestow a note, in order, in the first place, facetiously to claim, and then studiously to reject, for Dunstan, 'the honours of a reformer.' It was surely incumbent on the historian of the Anglo-Saxon Church, not to have neglected so favourable an opportunity of showing how skilfully St Dunstan could extract good from evil, and build on the sins of the king the salvation of his subjects.

We must now take leave of Mr Lingard. We can safely recommend his book for the curious matter it contains, and the agreeable style in which it is written. Its defects are perhaps inseparable from the nature of his subject. Candour and impartiality are least of all to be expected from ecclesiastical historians. The contests of theologians have few attractions. Their disputes, though acrimonious, are unintelligible. Their victories, when not supported by fire and faggot, are always dubious. Their records are dull,—their volumes heavy,—their style and matter equally repulsive. No one can wade through such difficulties, and gain a competent knowledge of their controversies, who is not impelled and supported by a spirit of bigotry, which renders his labours altogether useless; because, even though it were possible his intentions could be honest, no confidence can be reasonably placed in the accuracy of his discernment.

\* *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 111.

ART. IV. *The White Doe of Rylstone ; or the Fate of the Nortons : a Poem.* By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. 4to. pp. 162. London, 1815.

THIS, we think, has the merit of being the very worst poem we ever saw imprinted in a quarto volume ; and though it was scarcely to be expected, we confess, that Mr Wordsworth, with all his ambition, should so soon have attained to that distinction, the wonder may perhaps be diminished, when we state, that it seems to us to consist of a happy union of all the faults, without any of the beauties, which belong to his school of poetry. It is just such a work, in short, as some wicked enemy of that school might be supposed to have devised, on purpose to make it ridiculous ; and when we first took it up, we could not help fancying that some ill-natured critic had taken this harsh method of instructing Mr Wordsworth, by example, in the nature of those errors, against which our precepts had been so often directed in vain. We had not gone far, however, till we felt intimately, that nothing in the nature of a joke could be so insupportably dull ;—and that this must be the work of one who honestly believed it to be a pattern of pathetic simplicity, and gave it out as such to the admiration of all intelligent readers. In this point of view, the work may be regarded as curious at least, if not in some degree interesting ; and, at all events, it must be instructive to be made aware of the excesses into which superior understandings may be betrayed, by long self-indulgence, and the strange extravagances into which they may run, when under the influence of that intoxication which is produced by unrestrained admiration of themselves. This poetical intoxication, indeed, to pursue the figure a little farther, seems capable of assuming as many forms as the vulgar one which arises from wine ; and it appears to require as delicate a management to make a man a good poet by the help of the one, as to make him a good companion by means of the other. In both cases, a little mistake as to the dose or the quality of the inspiring fluid may make him absolutely outrageous, or lull him over into the most profound stupidity, instead of brightening up the hidden stores of his genius : And truly we are concerned to say, that Mr Wordsworth seems hitherto to have been unlucky in the choice of his liquor—or of his bottle holder. In some of his odes and ethic exhortations, he was exposed to the public in a state of incoherent rapture and glorious delirium, to which we think we have seen a parallel among the humbler lovers of jollity. In the Lyrical Ballads, he was exhibited, on the whole,



in a vein of very pretty delirium; but in the poem before us, he appears in a state of low and maudlin imbecility, which would not have misbecome Master Silence himself, in the close of a social day. Whether this unhappy result is to be ascribed to any adulteration of his Castalian cups, or to the unlucky choice of his company over them, we cannot presume to say. It may be, that he has dashed his Hippocrene with too large an infusion of lake water, or assisted its operation too exclusively by the study of the ancient historical ballads of 'the north countree.' That there are palpable imitations of the style and manner of those venerable compositions in the work before us, is indeed undeniable; but it unfortunately happens, that while the hobbling versification, the mean diction, and flat stupidity of these models are very exactly copied, and even improved upon, in this imitation, their rude energy, manly simplicity, and occasional felicity of expression, have totally disappeared; and, instead of them, a large allowance of the author's own metaphysical sensibility, and mystical wordiness, is forced into an unnatural combination with the borrowed beauties which have just been mentioned.

The story of the poem, though not capable of furnishing out matter for a quarto volume, might yet have made an interesting ballad; and, in the hands of Mr Scott, or Lord Byron, would probably have supplied many images to be loved, and descriptions to be remembered. The incidents arise out of the short-lived Catholic insurrection of the Northern counties, in the reign of Elizabeth, which was supposed to be connected with the project of marrying the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk, and terminated in the ruin of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, by whom it was chiefly abetted. Among the victims of this rash enterprize was Richard Norton of Rylstone, who comes to the array with a splendid banner, at the head of eight tall sons, but against the will and advice of a ninth, who, though he refused to join the host, yet follows unarmed in its rear, out of anxiety for the fate of his family; and, when the father and his gallant progeny are made prisoners, and led to execution, at York, recovers the fatal banner, and is slain by a party of the Queen's horse near Bolton priory, in which place he had been ordered to deposit it by the dying voice of his father. The stately halls and pleasant bowers of Rylstone are wasted and fall into desolation; while the heroic daughter, and only survivor of the house, is sheltered among its faithful retainers, and wanders about for many years in its neighbourhood, accompanied by a beautiful white doe, which had formerly been a pet in the family; and continues, long after the death

of this sad survivor, to repair every Sunday to the church-yard of Bolton priory, and there to feed and wander among their graves, to the wonder and delight of the rustic congregation that came there to worship.

This, we think, is a pretty subject for a ballad; and, in the author's better day, might have made a lyrical one of considerable interest: Let us see, however, how he deals with it since he has bethought him of publishing in quarto.

The First Canto merely contains the description of the doe coming into the church-yard on Sunday, and of the congregation wondering at her. She is described as being as white as a lily,—or the moon,—or a ship in the sunshine;—and this is the style in which Mr Wordsworth marvels and moralizes about her through ten quarto pages.

What harmonious pensive changes  
Wait upon her as she ranges  
Round and through this Pile of state,  
Overthrown and desolate! ' p. 7, 8.  
The presence of this wandering Doe  
Fills many a damp obscure recess  
With lustre of a saintly show;  
And, re-appearing, she no less  
To the open day gives blessedness. ' p. 9.

The mothers point out this pretty creature to their children; and tell them in sweet nursery phrases—

Now you have seen the famous Doe!  
From Rylstone she hath found her way  
Over the hills this sabbath-day;  
Her work, whate'er it be, is done,  
And she will depart when we are gone. ' p. 13.

The poet knows why she comes there, and thinks the people may know it too: But some of them think she is a new incarnation of some of the illustrious dead that lie buried around them; and one, who it seems is an Oxford scholar, conjectures that she may be the fairy who instructed Lord Clifford in astrology; an ingenious fancy which the poet thus gently reproveth—

' Ah, pensive scholar! think not so!  
But look again at the radiant doe! '

And then closes the Canto with this natural and luminous apostrophe to his harp.

' But, harp! thy murmurs may not cease,—  
Thou hast breeze-like visitings;  
For a Spirit with angel wings  
Hath touched thee, and a Spirit's hand:  
A voice is with us—a command  
To chaunt, in strains of heavenly glory,  
A tale of tears, a mortal story! ' p. 21.

The Second Canto is more full of business, and affords us more insight into the author's manner of conducting a story. The opening, however, which goes back to the bright and original conception of the harp, is not quite so intelligible as might have been desired.

' The Harp in lowliness obeyed :  
And first we sang of the green-wood shade,  
And a solitary Maid ;  
Beginning, where the song must end,  
With her, and with her sylvan Friend ;  
The friend who stood before her sight,  
Her only unextinguished light,—  
Her last companion in a dearth  
Of love, upon a hopeless earth.' p. 25.

This solitary maid, we are then told, had wrought, at the request of her father, ' an unblessed work.'

' A Banner—one that did fulfil  
Too perfectly his headstrong will :  
For on this Banner had her hand  
Embroidered (such was the command)  
The Sacred Cross ; and figured there  
The five dear wounds our Lord did bear.' p. 26.

The song then proceeds to describe the rising of Northumberland and Westmoreland, in the following lofty and spirited strains.

' Two earls fast leagued in discontent,  
Who gave their wishes open vent ;  
And boldly urged a general plea,  
The rites of ancient piety  
To be by force of arms renewed ;  
Glad prospect for the multitude !  
And that same Banner, on whose breast  
The blameless Lady had exprest,  
Memorials chosen to give life,  
And sunshine to a dangerous strife ;  
This Banner,' &c. p. 27.

The poet, however, puts out all his strength in the dehortation which he makes Francis Norton address to his father, when the preparations are completed, and the household is ready to take the field.

——' Francis Norton said,  
" O Father ! rise not in this fray—  
The hairs are white upon your head ;  
Dear Father, hear me when I say  
It is for you too late a day !  
Bethink you of your own good name ;  
A just and gracious queen have we,

A pure religion, and the claim  
 Of peace on our humanity.  
 'Tis meet that I endure your scorn,—  
 I am your son, your eldest born ;  
 The Banner touch not, stay your hand,—  
 This multitude of men disband,  
 And live at home in blissful ease. ” p. 27, 28.

The warlike father makes no answer to this exquisite address,  
 but turns in silent scorn to the banner,

‘ And his wet eyes are glorified,’  
 and marches out at the head of his sons and retainers.

Francis is very sad when left thus alone in the mansion—and  
 still worse when he sees his sister sitting under a tree near the  
 door. However, though ‘ he cannot chuse but shrink and sigh,’  
 he goes up to her and says,

‘ —“ Gone are they,—they have their desire ;  
 And I with thee one hour will stay,  
 To give thee comfort if I may.”

‘ He paused, her silence to partake,  
 And long it was before he spake :  
 Then, all at once, his thoughts turned round,  
 And fervent words a passage found.

“ Gone are they, bravely, though misled,  
 With a dear Father at their head !

The Sons obey a natural lord ;  
 The Father had given solemn word  
 To noble Percy,—and a force  
 Still stronger bends him to his course.  
 This said, our tears to-day may fall  
 As at an innocent funeral.

In deep and awful channel runs  
 This sympathy of Sire and Sons ;  
 Untried our Brothers were beloved,  
 And now their faithfulness is proved ;  
 For faithful we must call them, bearing  
 That soul of conscientious daring. ” p. 32, 33.

After a great deal more as touching and sensible, he applies  
 himself more directly to the unhappy case of his hearer,—  
 whom he thus judiciously comforts and flatters.

‘ Hope nothing, if I thus may speak  
 To thee a woman, and thence weak ;  
 Hope nothing, I repeat ; for we  
 Are doomed to perish utterly :  
 'Tis meet that thou with me divide  
 The thought while I am by thy side,  
 Acknowledging a grace in this,  
 A comfort in the dark abyss :

But look not for me when I am gone,  
 And be no farther wrought upon.  
 Farewell all wishes, all debate,  
 All prayers for this cause, or for that !  
 Weep, if that aid thee ; but depend  
 Upon no help of outward friend ;  
 Espouse thy doom at once, and cleave  
 To fortitude without reprieve.' p. 36.

It is impossible, however, to go regularly on with this goodly matter.—The Third Canto brings the Nortons and their banner to the head quarters of the insurgent Earls ; and describes the first exploits of those conscientious warriors, who took possession of the Cathedral of Durham,

' Sang Mass,—and tore the book of Prayer,—  
 And trod the Bible beneath their feet.'

Elated by this triumph, they turn to the south.

' To London were the Chieftains bent ;  
 But what avails the bold intent ?  
 A Royal army is gone forth  
 To quell the Rising of the North ;  
 They march with Dudley at their head,  
 And in seven days' space, will to York be led !—  
 And Neville was opprest with fear ;  
 For, though he bore a valiant name,  
 His heart was of a timid frame.' p. 53, 54.

So they agree to march back again ; at which old Norton is sorely afflicted—and Francis takes the opportunity to renew his dehortations—but is again repulsed with scorn, and falls back to his station in the rear.

The Fourth Canto shows Emily walking by the fish ponds and arbours of Rylstone, in a fine moonshiny night, with her favourite white Doe not far off.

' Yet the meek Creature was not free,  
 Erewhile, from some perplexity :  
 For thrice hath she approached, this day,  
 The thought-bewildered Emily.' p. 69.

However, they are tolerably reconciled that evening ; and by and by, just a few minutes after nine, an old retainer of the house comes to comfort her, and is sent to follow the host and bring back tidings of their success.—The worthy yeoman sets out with great alacrity ; but not having much hope, it would appear, of the cause, says to himself as he goes,

' " Grant that the moon which shines this night  
 May guide them in a prudent flight ! " ' p. 75.

Things however had already come to a still worse issue—as the poet very briefly and ingeniously intimates in the following fine lines.

' Their flight the fair moon may not see ;  
 For, from mid-heaven, already she  
 Hath witnessed their captivity.' p. 75.

They had made a rash assault, it seems, on Barnard Castle, and had been all made prisoners, and forwarded to York for trial.

The Fifth canto shows us Emily watching on a commanding height for the return of her faithful messenger ; who accordingly arrives forthwith, and tells, ' as gently as could be,' the unhappy catastrophe which he had come soon enough to witness. The only comfort he can offer is, that Francis is still alive.

' To take his life they have not dared.  
 On him and on his high endeavour  
 The light of praise shall shine for ever !  
 Nor did he (such Heaven's will) in vain  
 His solitary course maintain ;  
 Not vainly struggled in the might  
 Of duty seeing with clear sight.' p. 85.

He then tells how the father and his eight sons were led out to execution ; and how Francis, at his father's request, took their banner, and promised to bring it back to Bolton priory.

The Sixth canto opens with the homeward pilgrimage of this unhappy youth ; and there is something so truly forlorn and tragical in his situation, that we should really have thought it difficult to have given an account of it without exciting some degree of interest or emotion. Mr Wordsworth, however, reserves all his pathos for describing the whiteness of the pet doe, and disserting about her perplexities, and her high communion, and participation of heaven's grace ; and deals in this sort with the orphan son turning from the bloody scaffold of all his line with their luckless banner in his hand.

' He looked about like one betrayed :  
 What hath he done ? what promise made ?  
 Oh weak, weak moment ! to what end  
 Can such a vain oblation tend,  
 And he the Bearer ?—Can he go  
 Carrying this Instrument of woe,  
 And find, find any where, a right  
 To excuse him in his Country's sight ?  
 No, will not all Men deem the change  
 A downward course, perverse and strange ?  
 Here is it,—but how, when ? must she,  
 The unoffending Emily,  
 Again this piteous object see ?  
 Such conflict long did he maintain  
 Within himself, and found no rest ;

Calm liberty he could not gain ;  
 And yet the service was unblest.  
 His own life into danger brought  
 By this sad burden—even that thought  
 Raised self-suspicion which was strong,  
 Swaying the brave Man to his wrong :  
 And how, unless it were the sense  
 Of all-disposing Providence,  
 Its will intelligibly shown,  
 Finds he the Banner in his hand,  
 Without a thought to such intent ? ' p. 99, 100.

His death is not much less pathetic. A troop of the Queen's horse surround him, and reproach him, we must confess with some plausibility, with having kept his hands unarmed, only from dread of death and forfeiture, while he was all the while a traitor in his heart. The sage Francis answers the insolent troopers as follows.

" I am no traitor, " Francis said,  
 " Though this unhappy freight I bear ;  
 It weakens me, my heart hath bled  
 Till it is weak—but you beware,  
 Nor do a suffering Spirit wrong,  
 Whose self-reproaches are too strong ! " p. 103.

This virtuous and reasonable person, however, has ill luck in all his dissuasions ; for one of the horsemen puts a pike into him without more ado—and

' There did he lie of breath forsaken ! '

And after some time the neighbouring peasants take him up, and bury him in the churchyard of Bolton priory.

The Seventh and last canto contains the history of the desolated Emily and her faithful doe ; but so very discreetly and cautiously written, that the most tender-hearted reader may peruse it without the least risk of any excessive emotion. The poor lady runs about indeed for some years in a very disconsolate way in a worsted gown and flannel nightcap ; but at last the old white doe finds her out, and takes again to following her—whereupon Mr Wordsworth breaks out into this fine and natural rapture.

' Oh, moment ever blest ! O Pair !  
 Beloved of Heaven, Heaven's choicest care !  
 This was for you a precious greeting,—  
 For both a bounteous, fruitful meeting.  
 Joined are they, and the sylvan Doe  
 Can she depart ? can she forego  
 The Lady, once her playful Peer ?  
 ' That day, the first of a reunion  
 Which was to teem with high communion,  
 That day of balmy April weather,  
 They tarried in the wood together. ' p. 117, 118.

What follows is not quite so intelligible.

‘ When Emily by morning light  
Went forth, the Doe was there in sight.  
She shrunk :—with one frail shock of pain,  
Received and followed by a prayer,  
Did she behold—saw once again ;  
Shun will she not, she feels, will bear ;—  
But wheresoever she looked round

All now was trouble-haunted ground. ’ p. 119.

But we make out that the lady’s loneliness was cheered, by this mute associate ; and that the doe, in return, found a certain comfort in the lady’s company—

‘ Communication, like the ray  
Of a new morning, to the nature

And prospects of the inferior Creature ! ’ p. 126.

In due time the poor lady dies, and is buried beside her mother ; and the doe continues to haunt the places which they had frequented together, and especially to come and pasture every Sunday upon the fine grass in Bolton churchyard, the gate of which is never opened but on occasion of the weekly service.—In consequence of all which, we are assured by Mr Wordsworth, that she ‘ is approved by Earth and Sky, in their benignity ; ’ and moreover, that the old Priory itself takes her for a daughter of the Eternal Prime—which we have no doubt is a very great compliment, though we have not the good luck to understand what it means.

‘ And aye, methinks, this hoary Pile,  
Subdued by outrage and decay,  
Looks down upon her with a smile,  
A gracious smile, that seems to say,  
“ Thou, thou art not a Child of Time,  
But Daughter of the Eternal Prime ! ”

ART. V. *Nouvelles Observations sur les Abeilles*. Par FRANÇOIS HUBER. Seconde Edition, revue, corrigée, & considérablement augmentée. 2 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1814.

IT is some time since we gave an analysis of the first part of these researches of Mr Huber on the Natural History of Bees. \* After an interval of twenty years since the publication of that work, a second volume has now made its appearance, in conjunction with a second edition of the former. Many circumstances of a private nature had discouraged the author from

---

\* Vol. XI. p. 319.



undertaking the labour of revising the manuscripts for the press : but he has been at length induced to confide the task to his son, whose taste for natural history appears to have rekindled the dormant ardour of the father. The successful exertions of Mr P. Huber in some of the higher departments of this science, have already been displayed in his *Treatise on the Economy of the Indigenous Species of Ants*; our Review of which will be found in Vol. XXI., p. 143.

The first volume of the work before us had been written in the form of letters ; but the second assumes the more didactic shape of memoirs. We cannot help thinking, however, that there is still room for a more methodical arrangement of the facts which it contains : for we find that many particulars and remarks relating to the same subjects, are often interspersed among the different chapters, when a closer connexion would have given them additional value. In giving, therefore, an account of this highly interesting volume, we shall not confine ourselves to the succession of chapters, but follow an order more strictly physiological than the one adopted by the author. We shall first take a review of the facts relating to the functions of secretion, reproduction, respiration, and sensation of bees ; and afterwards proceed to consider the complicated questions which relate to their instincts and acquired faculties. We shall also beg leave to refer to our former review for an account of the leading features in the natural history of this insect, as introductory to the subjects that are treated of in this volume.

The origin of wax, the material with which bees construct their combs, had never been perfectly understood, although both chemists and naturalists had made repeated attempts to ascertain its properties and history. It was generally supposed that this substance was in some way or other formed from the pollen, or fecundating dust of flowers ; or, as some have termed it, the farina. The proceedings of the bees in collecting and carrying off this pollen to their hives, and in laying up large stores of it in magazines for future use, had been observed and detailed with the most scrupulous attention to accuracy by Reaumur, Maraldi, and other naturalists. It was evident from the great quantity they collect, that some important use was made of it : and none suggested itself more naturally than its being the raw material whence the wax was prepared. Reaumur had indeed noticed the great difference that existed between pollen and wax, but conceived that the former was taken into the stomach, and converted by digestion into wax, after which it was returned by the mouth in the form of a frothy liquid. Mr Arthur Cocks, on the contrary, asserted that wax was the excremen-

titious remains of the pollen after its digestion and passage through the alimentary canal.\* One of the members of the 'Société des Abeilles,' established at a place called Petit Rautzen in Upper Lusatia, appears to have been the original discoverer of the fact, that wax is given out from the horny scales of the abdomen. This curious circumstance was stated cursorily in a letter from Mr Wilhelm in 1768, without mentioning the name of the author of it; very, was probably not deemed worthy of much attention, and seems to have been almost entirely lost sight of. It appears, however, that Mr Duchet, in his *Culture des Abeilles*, which is quoted by Wildman in 1778, gave it as his opinion, that wax is formed of honey: as a proof of which he observes, that 'he has seen a comb broken in a hive overset, which has been repaired during bad weather, when the bees could not go abroad in search of other materials.' Wildman, in his *Treatise on the Management of Bees*,† expressly states, having seen pieces of wax, in shape resembling the scales of a fish, at the bottom of the hive, which he thinks must have been moulded in the body of the bee. Observations of a similar kind were afterwards made by Mr John Hunter, apparently without any knowledge of the conjectures of his predecessors; and were published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1792. He there considers wax as an external secretion of oil, formed between the scales of the abdomen of the insect.‡ Mr Huber does not appear to have known the observations either of Duchet or of Wildman on this subject, although made long prior to those of Mr Hunter; for he does not allude to them, while he quotes the whole passage from the latter. In 1793, Mr Huber's observations had led him to the same results as to the nature of the laminæ under the abdominal scales: but he has prosecuted the inquiry relating to their origin much more successfully than any preceding writer. He has found that these laminæ are contained in distinct receptacles on each side of the middle process of the scales: he has examined, with great care, the form and structure of these secreting cavities, which are met with only in the working bees; and which had escaped the scrutinizing eyes of Swammerdam. Their general shape is an irregular pentagon, and the plates of wax being moulded in them, preserve invariably this form. On piercing the membrane with a needle, are lined on the side next to the abdomen, a

\* *Philosophical Transactions*, X. I. 536.

† P. 44.; 3d Edition.

‡ Vol.

XII. p. 145.

was thrown out in a jet, which congealed on cooling, and in this state resembled wax, and was again melted on the application of heat. A number of comparative experiments were made with the substance contained in the pouches, and the wax of fresh-made combs: a great similarity between these two substances was thus made out: the latter, however, appeared to be somewhat more compound, having probably received some additional ingredient, while employed as the material for building. The secreting function of the membrane on the inner surface of these cavities was farther evinced by a more minute examination of its structure, which exhibited a number of folds, forming a hexagonal network, very analogous to the inner coat of the second stomach of ruminating quadrupeds. A very elaborate anatomical description of these organs is given in a letter at the end of this volume.

Although it was thus ascertained that wax is a secreted animal substance, it still remained to determine what were the circumstances that give occasion to this secretion; and especially whether it was the product of any particular kind of food. The opinion of Reaumur, that it was formed from pollen elaborated in the stomach, and thrown up again into the mouth, was discountenanced by the observation, that when fresh swarms take up their abode in empty hives, they do not collect pollen, and yet they construct combs; while, on the other hand, the bees of old hives, where all the combs are completed, are seen to bring home large quantities of pollen. In order to determine this point with greater precision, many experiments were instituted by the author. A fresh swarm was confined, with a sufficient allowance of honey and water, in an empty hive. In this situation, although they could have no access to pollen, yet at the end of five days, they had constructed five combs of the purest wax. When these combs were withdrawn, and the bees replaced in the hive, they renewed their toil with unabated industry, and had soon replaced the combs by others. These last were again taken from them; but the patient and indefatigable insects still persevered in their labours, and began them afresh, although five times in succession their works were no sooner completed than carried off; and although, during the whole of this time, they were fed only on honey and water. On the other hand, bees that were in a similar state of confinement, and were supplied only with fruit and with pollen, had, in the course of eight days, produced no wax whatever, and of course had formed no combs. In order to prove that it was the saccharine principle alone, and not any accidental admixture of particles of wax, which might be contained in the honey that afforded the pabu-

lum for this secretion, the bees, still confined, were supplied with syrup made by dissolving Canary sugar in water; and comparative experiments were made in another hive where the bees were fed on honey. It was found that the former produced wax even sooner, and in larger quantity than the latter. It was further completely ascertained, that in the old hives the honey is warehoused, and that in the new hives it is consumed and converted into wax. The works always advance rapidly when the weather and the state of vegetation admit of a plentiful harvest of honey,—but are interrupted whenever rain, cold winds, a deficiency of flowers, or a very dry season, prevent the bees from collecting it.

Mr Huber has observed that there are two sets of bees in every hive: the one, who devour large quantities of honey, take upon themselves the office of furnishing wax, and of building the combs; the other, who collect the honey and immediately dispose of what they have collected to the former, retaining only a quantity sufficient for their own nourishment. Dissection showed that the stomach of the former class, which he calls the wax-making bees, is much more capacious than that of the latter, which he denominates the nursing-bees, as it appears to be their peculiar province to tend upon the eggs and larvæ. By putting a particular mark upon those belonging to one class, it was found that, in performing their several tasks, neither of them ever encroached on the province of the other: so remarkable is the extent to which the principle of the division of labour is carried among individuals of the same original formation: for it appears that the power of forming wax is common to both, from the circumstance that a small quantity is really found in the receptacles of the nursing-bees.

In the foregoing experiments, the bees had borne their confinement without betraying the least impatience; but, on another occasion, when they were shut up together with a brood of eggs and larvæ, and could have no access to pollen, though they were supplied abundantly with honey, they manifested strong symptoms of uneasiness and of rage, at being kept prisoners. Fearful of what might be the consequence of prolonging this state of tumult, the author allowed them to escape in the evenings, when it was too late in the day to collect provisions. The bees, therefore, returned home very soon after. This was repeated for five days successively; and, on examining the hive at the end of that time, it was found that the larvæ had perished, and that the jelly with which they had been surrounded on their introduction into the hive, had disappeared. These bees were then supplied with a fresh brood, together with

tions of a comb stored with pollen. Their behaviour was now very different: they eagerly seized upon the pollen, and immediately conveyed it to their young; order was reestablished in the colony; the larvæ went through their usual transformations; royal cells were completed and closed with wax; every thing went on prosperously, and the bees showed no desire to quit their habitation. Nothing seems more complete than the evidence furnished by these experiments as to the origin of wax, and the very different destination of pollen from that which had hitherto been assigned to it.

On the subject of the sex of working bees, which has given rise to so much speculation and controversy, a very curious anatomical discovery has been made, which must set this question for ever at rest. By adopting a peculiar method of dissection, Miss Jurine, the daughter of the distinguished naturalist of Geneva, has been enabled to bring into view the ovaria of the working-bee, which are perfectly analogous in their form, situation, and structure to those of the queen-bee, excepting that no ova could be distinguished in them. The occasional fecundity of a few of the working-bees, a fact observed by Riem, is now in perfect conformity with the great discovery of Schirach: and every anomaly in the sexual theory of this insect, about which there has been so much dispute, is completely cleared away. Analogous facts have been ascertained with regard to the humble-bee and the wasp. The workers among the latter have been detected by Mr Perrot in the act of laying eggs; and these, like the eggs of bees in like circumstances, were universally found to produce males. The history of the ant tribe likewise affords parallel instances of the sexual functions being exercised by those individuals that are vulgarly denominated neuters.

As connected with the physiology of bees, we shall in the next place give an account of the author's researches with regard to their respiration, which is the subject of a very long chapter. Doubts have often arisen as to the absolute necessity of this function in many of the tribes of inferior insects, which are observed frequently to occupy situations that hardly admit of any renewal of air. Such, indeed, appears to be the condition of bees inhabiting a hive, of which the usual capacity is not above one or two cubic feet. In this confined space, are lodged frequently twenty or thirty thousand bees, in a state of high animal activity, and preserving a very elevated temperature. The only entrance into the hive is in the lower part, the situation, of all others, the least favourable to the escape of heated air; and even this passage is frequently much obstructed by crowds of bees, which are passing in and out during the heats of summer. Every other aperture is strictly closed up by the bees them-

selves; and in addition, the hive is often covered over by the farmer with a coating of mortar. A lighted taper, enclosed in a glass-ball of similar dimensions, and with an opening on the side, of the same size as the door of the hive, goes out in a few minutes for want of a due circulation of air. How then, do bees, under similar circumstances, support life, if life require the uninterrupted continuance of respiration? The universal law, which the multiplied experiments of Spallanzani had so well established, appeared in this instance to be violated. Before attempting, however, to discover the cause of such a deviation, it was necessary to ascertain, with more precision, whether the anomaly was real, or apparent only. With this view, Mr Huber engaged in a series of experiments, which did away all doubt of the fact, that respiration was really carried on by bees. They fell into a state of asphyxia in the vacuum of an air-pump; and also, when confined in close vessels with a limited quantity of atmospheric air. In the latter case, the oxygen was found to be almost totally consumed. The admission of common air in both cases restored their animation, if the experiment had not been too long protracted; and the introduction of oxygenous gas was still more effectual in promoting their recovery. When confined in a given quantity of oxygenous gas, they were enabled to live for a period eight times longer than in common air. They perished speedily in carbonic acid, azotic, or hydrogenous gases. When previously rendered torpid, by surrounding with ice the vessel that contained them, they were totally unaffected by immersion during three hours in these same deleterious gases; and when removed and revived by the warmth of the hand, they appeared to have suffered no injury; which proves, that, in a torpid state, respiration, as well as the other vital functions, is completely suspended. Analogous experiments were tried on the eggs, the larvæ, and the nymphæ, with similar results; excepting that the effects of respiration were less considerable in these early periods of existence: thus, the larvæ consumed more oxygen than the eggs, and the nymphæ more than the larvæ; and the nymphæ were the most easily destroyed by a suspension of this process.

By immersing different portions of the body of a bee in water, Mr Huber next ascertained, that respiration was carried on by means of the stigmata opening on the corselet; and that it may be maintained perfectly well, if only one of these be left open. When wholly immersed in water, the play of these stigmata becomes evident by the appearance of bubbles of air, which for some time remain attached to their orifices, and which are alternately absorbed and repelled several times before they are

quire sufficient size to enable them to rise to the surface. In this way, also, the author detected the existence of stigmata, which had escaped the observation of Swammerdam.

The next step was to analyze the air of the hive, and ascertain whether it was vitiated in the same manner as when bees were confined in close vessels. Mr Sennebier assisted the author in this examination; the air was found by the eudiometer to differ but slightly from atmospheric air in purity. Could it be supposed, then, that there existed in any part of the hive a power of giving out oxygen? Experiment showed, that neither wax nor pollen had any such property. It was evident, indeed, that if such were the case, the door of a hive might be closed without detriment to its inhabitants. This experiment was tried; and we shall give it without abridgment, as it was attended with a circumstance that led to the discovery of the whole mystery.

‘ Il ne s’agissoit que de renfermer exactement ces mouches dans une ruche dont les parois transparentes permettroient d’observer ce qui se passoit à l’intérieur; j’y consacrai l’essaim logé dans le récipient tubule.

‘ L’activité et l’abondance regnoit dans cette peuplade; lorsqu’on en approchoit à dix pas on entendoit un bourdonnement très-fort. Nous choisîmes pour l’exécution de notre projet un jour de pluie, afin que toutes les abeilles fussent réunies dans leur habitation. L’expérience commença à trois heures, nous fermâmes la porte avec exactitude, et nous observâmes, non sans une sorte d’angoisse, les effets de cette clôture rigoureuse.

‘ Ce ne fut qu’au bout d’un quart d’heure que les abeilles commencèrent à manifester quelque malaise; jusque-là elles avoient paru ignorer leur emprisonnement; mais alors tous leurs travaux furent suspendus, et la ruche changea entièrement d’aspect. On entendit bientôt un bruit extraordinaire dans son intérieur; toutes les abeilles, celles qui couvroient la face des gâteaux, comme celles qui étoient réunies en grappes, quittant leurs occupations, frappèrent l’air de leurs ailes avec une agitation extraordinaire. Cette effervescence dura environ dix minutes. Le mouvement des ailes devint par degrés moins continu et moins rapide. A trois heures trente-sept minutes les ouvrières avoient entièrement perdu leurs forces: elles ne pouvoient plus se cramponner avec leurs jambes, et leur chute suivit de près cet état de langueur.

‘ Le nombre des abeilles défaillantes alloit en croissant, la table en étoit jonchée; des milliers d’ouvrières et de mâles tombaient au fond de la ruche; il n’en resta pas une seule sur les gâteaux, trois minutes plus tard toute la peuplade fut asphyxiée. La ruche se refroidit tout d’un coup, et du terme du vingt-huit degrés la température descendit au niveau de celle de l’air extérieur.

‘ Nous espérâmes rendre la vie et la chaleur aux abeilles asphy-

xiées, en leur donnant un air plus pur : on ouvrit la porte de la ruche ainsi que le robinet fixé sur la tubutère du récipient. L'effet du courant qui s'établit alors ne fut pas équivoque ; en peu de minutes les abeilles furent en état de respirer ; les anneaux de leur abdomen reprirent leur jeu ; elles se mirent simultanément à battre des ailes, circonstance bien remarquable, et qui avoit déjà eu lieu, comme nous l'avons dit, au moment où la privation de l'air extérieur avoit commencé à se faire sentir dans la ruche. Bientôt les abeilles remontèrent sur leurs gâteaux, la température s'éleva au degré où ces insectes savent l'entretenir habituellement, et à quatre heures l'ordre fut rétabli dans leur demeure. Cette expérience prouvoit indubitablement que les abeilles n'avoient dans leur ruche aucun moyen de suppléer à l'air qui venoit du dehors. p. 335—337.

It was proved by this experiment, that the air of the hive was renewed from without, since the bees had perished when it was closed. After many fruitless conjectures as to the mode in which this renewal took place, it occurred to the author, that the vibration of the wings observed in the experiment, and which was accompanied by a loud humming sound, might be instrumental in this change. The wings are agitated with a rapidity that renders them invisible, except at the extremities of the arcs of vibration, which are equal to a complete quadrant of a circle ; and the bees remain all the while firmly fixed by their feet to the table, so that the progressive motion of flying, which would take place were they at liberty, by the reaction of the air, is prevented : the whole force of the wings is therefore exerted on the air, which is thus impelled in a continued stream. This current is very sensible on approaching the hand to a bee, which is thus performing the part of a ventilator.

During fine weather in summer, a certain number of bees are always seen vibrating their wings before the door of the hive ; but if the interior of a glass hive be inspected, it will be seen that a still greater number are engaged in this duty on the floor of the hive. These bees have their heads turned towards the door, while those on the outside have their heads from the door ; so that both cooperate in producing a current of air in the same direction.

On diroit que ces mouches se placent symétriquement pour s'éventer plus à l'aise ; elles forment alors des files qui aboutissent à l'entrée de la ruche, et sont quelquefois disposées comme autant de rayons divergens ; mais cet ordre n'est point régulier, il est dû probablement à la nécessité où les abeilles qui s'éventent sont de faire place à celles qui vont et viennent, et dont la course rapide les force à se ranger à la file pour n'être pas heurtées et culbutées à chaque instant.

Quelquefois plus de vingt abeilles s'éventent au bas d'une ruche ;



dans d'autres momens leur nombre est plus circonscrit ; chacune d'elles fait jouer ses ailes plus ou moins long-tems : nous en avons vu s'éventer pendant vingt-cinq minutes ; dans cette intervalle elles ne se posoient point, mais elles sembloient quelquefois reprendre haleine en suspendant la vibration de leurs ailes pour un instant indistinct : aussitôt qu'elles cessent de s'éventer, d'autres les remplacent, ensorte qu'il n'y a jamais d'interruption dans le bourdonnement d'une ruche bien peuplée.' p. 342.

By means of light pieces of paper suspended from a thread, it was ascertained, as might have been expected, that a double current took place, of which the strength was proportioned to the number of inhabitants in the hive. This ventilating process, which is indicated by a humming sound within the hive, is continually going on, both in summer and winter ; and indeed appears sometimes more active in the depth of winter, than when the external temperature is more moderate.

In order to ascertain whether the assigned cause was adequate to the production of the whole of the observed effect, an artificial ventilator, consisting of a small windmill of tin, with eighteen vanes, which could be made to turn round by machinery, was adapted to an aperture in the bottom of a glass cylinder, which was closed at both ends, after a lighted taper had been introduced. The taper continued to burn as well as in the open air, so long as the ventilator was kept in motion ; and went out when this motion was not given to it.

The author next inquires into the immediate cause which prompts the insect to perform the actions above described. This he conceives to be the sensation of heat, and the presence of vitiated air.

‘ L'idée la plus simple qui s'offre à nous fut que les abeilles ne s'éventoient qu'afin de se procurer une sensation de fraîcheur, et une expérience nous convainquit effectivement que ce motif pouvoit être l'une des causes immédiates de la ventilation.

‘ On ouvrit le volet d'une ruche vitrée, les rayons du soleilardoient sur les gâteaux couverts d'abeilles ; bientôt celles qui ressentirent trop vivement l'influence de la chaleur commencèrent à bourdonner, tandis que celles qui se trouvoient encore à l'ombre demeurèrent tranquilles.

‘ Une observation qu'on peut faire tous les jours confirme le résultat de cette expérience : les abeilles qui composent ces grappes qu'on voit au-devant des ruches pendant l'été, incommodées par l'ardeur du soleil, s'éventent alors avec beaucoup d'énergie ; mais si un corps quelconque porte son ombre sur une partie de la grappe, la ventilation cesse dans la région obscure, tandis qu'elle continue dans celle qui est éclairée et rechauffée par le soleil.’ p. 357.

‘ On séparoit quelques abeilles de leur ruche en les attirant avec

du miel, puis on approchoit d'elles du coton trempé dans l'esprit de vin pendant qu'elles mangeoient, il falloit le mettre près de leur tête, pour qu'il les incommodât; mais alors l'effet n'en étoit pas douteux, les abeilles s'écartoient en agitant leurs ailes, elles se rapprochoient ensuite pour prendre leur nourriture. Lorsqu'elles étoient bien établies, on recommençoit l'expérience, elles s'écartoient de nouveau, mais sans retirer tout à fait leur trompe; elles se contentoient de battre les ailes en mangeant.' p. 359.

It is a remarkable fact, that the drones, though they appear to be affected by strong odours in an equal degree with the working-bees, have never recourse to the same expedient. This mode of ventilation, by the action of the wings, is a process peculiar to the working-bees; and the drones, in this as in other instances, participate in none of the active labours of the hive; and, independently of the part they perform in impregnation, are merely *fruges consumere nati*.

Two chapters are occupied with observations relative to the senses. M. Huber asserts, that we have no positive proof of the existence of the sense of hearing in bees; although the common method practised by the country people, of preventing the escape of a swarm by loud noises, is founded on a contrary supposition. They undoubtedly possess great powers of vision with regard to remote objects; for they distinguish the situation of their own hive from considerable distances, and fly towards it in a perfectly straight line, with the rapidity of an arrow. But it is in the accuracy of the sense of touch, more particularly, that they excel other insects. The antennæ are the principal organs of this sense; and it is by the help of these instruments that, while secluded from the light, they construct their combs, replenish their magazines, feed and watch over the larvæ, ascertain the presence of the queen, and minister to all her wants. Their taste is probably the least developed of their senses, the bee appearing to have very little discrimination in the qualities of its food or drink. For the purpose of quenching thirst, they frequently choose the most stagnant or putrid water, and neglect the purest dew drops. Honey is the great object of attraction, wherever it may be found; and it is sought for even in the most acrid, foetid, or poisonous flowers: It is known to differ remarkably in different districts, or when collected at different times of the year; and in many parts of America it occasionally partakes of the deleterious qualities of the plants from which it was obtained. Quantity, and not quality, appears always to be the motive of preference in their selection of the flowers they visit. They appear in this to be guided altogether by the sense of smell, which must be very subtle, from the great

distances at which they can perceive the presence of saccharine substances. This was ascertained by several direct experiments, in which honey was concealed in boxes with small holes, not allowing of a sight of the contents, but admitting of the escape of a small portion of the odorous effluvia. When small valves of card were adjusted to these holes, the bees, after going round the boxes, and examining every part, discovered the contrivance, and readily found means to raise the valves, so as to get at the honey.

Another proof of intellect was afforded by some bees, which, during the autumn, had been supplied with a quantity of honey placed on an open window. The honey had been removed; and the shutters had continued closed during the whole of the ensuing winter: but in the spring, when the window was again opened, the bees were seen to return to the same spot where they had before been entertained, although no honey had since been put there. The lapse of several months, therefore, had not obliterated the memory of their former adventure. The author has endeavoured to ascertain the seat of smell, concerning which, as relating to insects in general, so much diversity of opinion has existed. A hair pencil dipped in oil of turpentine, to which bees have a strong aversion, was presented successively to different parts of the body of a bee that was occupied in sipping honey. Although brought in succession near every part of the abdomen, and trunk, including the stigmata, it did not occasion the least disturbance to the bee, until it came to the neighbourhood of the mouth, when the insect immediately quitted the honey, and set about ventilating itself violently, but in a short time renewed its meal. Oil of rosemary produced similar effects still more quickly. It is presumed from this experiment, that the organ of smell is situated somewhere either in the mouth or its appendages; and this is corroborated by repeating the experiments upon bees whose mouths had been plugged up with paste, which was allowed to dry before they were set at liberty. While the organ remained thus obstructed, the bees appeared to be totally insensible to all odours, even to those for which they usually evinced the most violent aversion: they even showed no repugnance in walking along the pencils impregnated with the poisonous fluids. Although much affected by the effluvia of turpentine and other essential oils, as also by the vapours of powerful chemical agents, such as the nitrous and muriatic acids, ammonia and alcohol, they are but little incommoded by the smell of musk, and appear to be perfectly indifferent to that of assafoetida, devouring honey that is mixed with it with as much avidity as usual. They manifest a strong

antipathy to camphor; but they are capable of overcoming their dislike, by the stronger attraction of honey, which they will entirely drink up, though with some deliberation, when its surface has been sprinkled over with camphor. In another experiment it was ascertained that the vapour of alcohol was fatal to them when they were subjected to its influence in a confined space: although a large spider, under similar circumstances, did not appear to suffer.

The odour of the poison which accompanies the sting of the bee, produces a remarkable effect on these insects,—awakening their choler, and exciting them to immediate acts of hostility.

‘ Nous mimes quelques abeilles dans un tube de verre fermé seulement à l’une de ses extrémités, nous les fîmes engourdir à demi pour qu’elles ne pussent pas sortir par le bout qui étoit resté ouvert. On les ranima ensuite par degrés, en les exposant au soleil. On introduisit après cela dans le tube un épi de blé, et l’on irrita les abeilles en les touchant avec ses barbes; toutes tirèrent leurs aiguillon et des gouttes de venin parurent à l’extrémité de ces dards.

‘ Leur premiers signes de vie furent donc des démonstrations de colère, et je ne doute pas qu’elles ne se fussent enfiévrées les unes les autres, ou jettées sur l’observateur, si elles eussent été en liberté: mais elles ne pouvoient ni se mouvoir, ni sortir malgré moi du tube dans lequel je les avois placées.

‘ Je les pris une à une avec des pinces, et je les enfermai dans un recipient pour qu’elles ne troublassent pas mon expérience. Elles avoient laissé dans le tube une odeur désagréable, et c’étoit celle du venin qu’elles avoient dardé contre ses parois intérieures. Je présentai son extrémité ouverte à des abeilles qui étoient groupées au devant de leur ruche. Ces mouches s’agitèrent dès qu’elles sentirent l’odeur du venin; mais cette émotion ne fut pas celle de la crainte; elle nous prouvèrent leur colère de la même manière que dans la première épreuve.

‘ Il y a donc des odeurs qui n’agissent pas seulement sur le physique de ces insectes, mais qui produisent jusqu’à un certain point sur eux une impression morale.’ p. 387.

The author has next attempted to investigate the principles of a variety of complicated actions exhibited by these insects, which have hitherto been seldom made the subject of philosophical inquiry, but which are contemplated by the vulgar with blind admiration, while the passive curiosity of the naturalist is satisfied with referring them to the inscrutable agency of instinct. How far, it may be asked, are bees influenced by the mere impressions of their senses? how far are they under the direct guidance of appetite? What is the nature, and the degree of those internal faculties which wear so much the semblance of reason, and which would seem to imply a knowledge

of various relations among external objects, an anticipation of future events, and a power of combining means for the accomplishment of particular purposes? What variations of conduct do they exhibit under diversities of external circumstances; to what extent are they capable of profiting from experience; and what is the origin of those social habits which so eminently distinguish them above all the other insect tribes; and which imply a mutual cooperation for objects of general utility, and a subdivision of labour conducing materially to the advancement of those objects? In this wide and difficult field of inquiry, Mr Huber has selected a few of the more striking features in the economy of bees, as particularly susceptible of illustration. When they have lost their queen, it is now well established that they select out of the young larvæ in the hive some individuals, which, by a particular process of nourishment and education, they convert into so many new queens. The *rationale* of this part of their conduct deserves especially to be examined. The utility, nay the absolute necessity, of their so doing, for the future prosperity and even existence of the colony, is sufficiently manifest: but what is the immediate principle or motive which leads them to take such a step? If it were the mere absence of the queen, they should set about the formation of royal cells immediately on their being sensible that they had lost her: but a considerable time elapses before they determine upon this proceeding. What happens on these occasions cannot be better conveyed than in the descriptive style of the author:

‘Lorsqu’on enlève une reine à sa ruche natale, les abeilles n’en paroissent pas d’abord s’en apercevoir; les travaux de tout genre se soutiennent, l’ordre et la tranquillité ne sont point troublés: ce n’est qu’une heure après le départ de la reine que l’inquiétude commence à se manifester parmi les ouvrières; le soin des petits ne semble plus les occuper, elles vont et viennent avec vivacité; mais ces premiers symptômes d’agitation ne se font pas sentir à la fois dans toutes les parties de la ruche. Ce n’est d’abord que sur une seule portion d’un gâteau que l’on commence à les apercevoir; les abeilles agitées sortent bientôt du petit cercle qu’elles parcouroient, et lorsqu’elles rencontrent leurs compagnes elles croisent mutuellement leurs antennes, et les frappent légèrement. Les abeilles qui reçoivent l’impression de ces coups d’antennes s’agitent à leur tour et portent ailleurs le trouble et la confusion; le désordre s’accroît dans une progression rapide, il gagne la face opposée du rayon, et enfin toute la peuplade; on voit alors les ouvrières courir sur les gâteaux, s’entrechoquer, se précipiter vers la porte et sortir de leur ruche avec impétuosité; de là elles se répandent tout à l’entour, elles rentrent et sortent à plusieurs reprises, le bourdonnement est très-grand dans la ruche, il augmente avec l’agitation des abeilles: ce désordre dure

environ deux ou trois heures, rarement quatre ou cinq, mais jamais d'avantage.

Quelle impression peut causer et arrêter cette effervescence ; pourquoi les abeilles reviennent-elles par degré à leur état naturel, et reprennent-elles de l'intérêt pour tout ce qui sembloit leur être devenu indifférent ? Pourquoi un mouvement spontané les ramène-t-il vers leurs petits qu'elles avoient abandonnés pendant quelques heures ? Qu'est-ce qui leur inspire ensuite l'idée de visiter ces larves de différens âges et de faire choix parmi elles des sujets qu'elles doivent élever à la dignité de reines ?

Si on visite cette ruche vingt-quatre heures après le départ de la mere commune, on verra que les abeilles ont travaillé à réparer leur perte ; on distinguera aisément ceux de leurs élèves qu'elles ont destiné à devenir reines ; cependant à cette époque la forme des cellules qu'ils occupent n'a point encore été altérée ; mais ces alvéoles qui sont toujours au nombre de ceux du plus petit diamètre se font déjà remarquer par la quantité de bouillie qu'ils renferment : ils en contiennent alors infiniment plus que les berceaux des larves ouvrières. Il résulte de cette abondance de matière alimentaire que les larves choisies par les abeilles pour remplacer un jour leur reine, au lieu d'être logées au fond de l'alvéole dans lequel elles sont nées, sont placées tout auprès de son orifice.

C'est probablement pour les amener là que les abeilles accumulent la bouillie ou pâtée dernière elles, et qu'elles leur font un lit si élevé ; ce qui prouve que ce tas de bouillie ne sert point à leur nourriture ; car on le retrouve encore tout entier dans les cellules quand le ver est descendu dans le prolongement pyramidal par lequel les ouvrières terminent leur logement.

On peut donc connoître les larves destinées à donner des reines par l'aspect des cellules qu'elles habitent avant même que celles-ci aient été elargées, et qu'elles aient acquis une forme pyramidale. D'après cet observation, il étoit facile de s'assurer au bout de vingt-quatre heures si les abeilles avoient prit le parti de remplacer leur reine. ' p. 396.

A difficulty that occurs on the very threshold of this inquiry, is to explain the mode in which all the bees become apprized of the absence of their queen. Do they collect this knowledge by the information of the sight, the smell, the touch, or of some unknown sense ; and how is the news communicated from one to another till it becomes general throughout the hive ? In order to elucidate this subject, the following experiment was made. A hive was divided into two separate compartments, by the quick introduction of a lattice, of which the wires were too close to admit of any bee passing through the interstices, but allowed of a free circulation of air between the two divisions, while the escape of the bees at the doors was prevented in a way that did not impede the passage of air. Great agitation prevail-

ed in that division of the hive which was deprived of its queen ; but in the course of two hours it subsided, and in a few days the bees had commenced the construction of three royal cells. From that moment these bees conducted themselves as the inhabitants of a separate colony, never associating with their former companions ; and having soon acquired a queen of their own, were thus completely independent of their former queen. Neither the sight nor the smell could in this instance have led to the knowledge that the queen, which was so near at hand, was unable to cross over to that part of the hive which had thus been insulated. That the absolute contact of the queen was necessary to their being assured of her presence, was proved by an experiment, in which she was separated from the other bees by a thin lattice, which admitted the antennæ of the bee to pass through, though it was too close for the passage of the whole head. Under these circumstances, no disturbance took place in the hive ; the labours were not interrupted ; and a constant intercourse was kept up with the queen through the medium of the antennæ.

‘ Ce qu’il y eut de très-remarquable pendant la réclusion de cette reine, c’est le moyen que les abeilles employèrent pour communiquer avec elle : un nombre infini d’antennes passées au travers de la grille, et jouant en tous sens ne permettoient pas de douter que les ouvrières ne fussent occupées de leur mère commune ; celle-ci répondoit à leur empressement de la manière la plus marquée, car elle étoit presque toujours cramponnée contre la grille, croisant ses antennes avec celles qui la cherchoient si évidemment ; les abeilles s’efforcèrent de l’attirer au milieu d’elles, leurs jambes passées au travers du grillage, saisissoient celles de la reine, et les tenoient avec force ; on vit même plusieurs fois leur trompe traverser les mailles du fil de fer et notre captive nourrie par ses sujettes depuis l’intérieur de la ruche. ’ p.407.

The same experiment repeated with a double lattice, with an interval too great to admit of the antennæ reaching to the space beyond, was attended with all the perturbation which ensues on the loss of a queen, and led immediately to the construction of royal cells. The importance of the antennæ is further shown by the consequences which result from their amputation. When deprived of these organs, the bee appears to have lost all its former instinct ; it desists from its labours, remains at the bottom of the hive, seems attracted only by the light, and takes the first opportunity of quitting the hive, never more to return. That the antennæ are the principal substitutes for the sense of sight, appears from the use they make of them during the night, when they guard the door of the hive from the entrance of moths which are fluttering around. It is curious to observe with what skill the moth avails itself of the imperfect vision of the

bee, when not assisted by strong day light; and what scrutinizing activity the bees exert in discovering the presence of so dangerous an enemy. The vigilant sentinels parade in circles round their habitation, expanding their antennæ to the full extent, and moving them incessantly on either side. Destruction awaits the luckless moth that comes within their reach. Aware of the danger, the latter displays considerable dexterity in avoiding the slightest contact, and in surreptitiously gliding between the sentinels, who are stationed to intercept it.

The singular art displayed by bees in the construction of the combs, has often attracted the attention of philosophers, and has given rise to much speculation among mathematicians as well as naturalists. A structure which appeared as a model of perfection, uniting the advantages of strength and economy of materials, and satisfying every condition of a refined geometrical problem, was contemplated with a degree of admiration that drew off the attention from the physical means employed in its execution; although it is evident, that without understanding these, all our reasonings on the principles from which so curious a species of architecture results, must be vague and hypothetical. Buffon has advanced with much confidence a theory, which may account in a plausible and summary manner for some of the appearances; but nothing shows more clearly the insufficiency of the most brilliant imagination, even when united with extensive knowledge, towards explaining the hidden processes of nature, if unassisted by the careful observation of facts, than the very erroneous views entertained on these subjects, by this specious and eloquent writer. No naturalist, indeed, prior to Huber, had ever been able to see the bee actually at work, and to follow up the several steps of the operation. Reaumur, whose diligence was unrivalled, and whose sober judgment never ventured to form conclusions with regard to facts without the support of actual observation, acknowledged that he had not seen enough of the proceedings of these insects, while they were engaged in building their habitations, to satisfy himself of the justness of his own conjectures. Glass hives, of any ordinary construction, are insufficient for this purpose, because the bees never carry on their architectural labours without being surrounded by a throng of assistants, which suspend themselves from the top of the hive, and form a thick curtain before the workers, impenetrable to the eye of the observer. It occurred to M. Huber, that this obstacle might be removed, if he could by any means deprive the auxiliary bees of the means of supporting themselves from the top, by obliging the bees to build upwards instead of downwards, which they always do when they find it



possible. After many attempts, he succeeded, by a particular contrivance, in effecting this; and by looking at them from below, on which side the light was admitted through glass, he was enabled to continue his observations throughout the whole process. He has given us a copious detail of each step of their operations, with a minuteness that appears unnecessary, and a prolixity that renders it very fatiguing to the attention. It is, however, well illustrated by plates, which exhibit the successive forms assumed by the work in every stage of its progress. We shall endeavour to give such a general outline as may be intelligible, without reference to figures.

The combs of a bee-hive are built up in vertical plates, severally composed of a congeries of partitions, which enclose a number of small cells. The form of each cell is that of a hexagonal prism, opening by one of its bases at the surface of the plate, and separated from the cells which open on the other side of the plate by a partition, so disposed as to form a pyramidal cavity at the bottom of each cell. This pyramid consists of three rhomboidal planes, which form an apex by the meeting of three of the obtuse angles; while the other angles meet the several sides of the prism. The lateral partitions being common to the adjacent cells, no interstice is left between them. The same effect also results from the adjustment of the cells on each side of the plate; for in the partition which divides them, the apex of each pyramid of the one set of cells forms one of the angles at the base of the other set. The three planes which compose the terminal pyramid of each cell, respectively concur in the formation of the bottoms of three cells on the opposite side; and the axis of the former, if produced, would be the common line of junction between the three latter. The most perfect symmetry, therefore, on each side of the comb, and in every cell, must result from this structure.

The junction of the rhomboidal planes, composing the terminal pyramid, with the six lateral planes of the hexagonal prism, could not be effected unless a portion of each of the latter were cut off obliquely at the base; the effect of which truncation will be to produce, in each of the lateral planes, an acute angle on one side and an obtuse angle on the other, instead of the two right angles with which they would have been terminated in a regular prism. The most remarkable circumstance in the form of the honey-comb, is, that these angles are exactly equal, respectively, to the angles of the terminal rhombs. There must evidently be six solid angles formed where the six sides of the cell meet the pyramid by which it is closed at the bottom; and these angles are constituted in the following manner. Each

acute angle at the base of the sides of the prism, is next to the acute angle of the adjoining side; and, in like manner, each obtuse angle is next to another obtuse angle; and these angles succeed one another in pairs alternately. Each pair of acute angles will join with the acute angles of two of the terminal rhombs, to constitute a solid angle, which will thus be formed of four acute angles: The pair of obtuse angles will join with the obtuse angle of one rhomb only, and the solid angle thus formed, will be bounded by three plane angles only, and all of them will be of equal magnitude. This latter solid angle, which is repeated at three of the angles of the base, is therefore exactly equal to the one at the apex of the pyramid; a condition which can obtain only when the ratio between the shorter and the longer diagonals of the rhomb, is the same as that between the side of a square and its diagonal. That the employment of rhombs of this particular shape requires a less expense of materials, than that of any other possible form, has been demonstrated by many mathematicians of the greatest eminence. The problem has been solved by Kœnig, Maclaurin, Cramer, Boscovich, L'Huillier, and Le Sage: Several remarks on the methods employed for this purpose, are contained in the work before us; and a demonstration of Cramer's, which is remarkable for its elegance, is given in the Appendix.

It does not appear to have been observed by former writers, that the first row of cells, or those nearest to the roof of the hive, from which the whole comb is suspended, have a form very different from any of the others. Their openings, instead of being hexagonal, are irregular pentagons, in consequence of two of the sides of the hexagon being cut off by the plane from which the comb arises. The partitions at the bottom of these cells deviate still more widely from their usual pyramidal form; for they are composed, on the one side of the comb, of two trapeziums, joined with one rhomb: and, on the other, of two rhombs only, without any third side. The work must therefore begin by the construction of these primary cells; and the design of them is sketched out by one or two bees, who appear to act as superintending architects; and who, by laying, as it were, the foundation stone of the future edifice, determine the relative situation of all its parts. For this purpose, then, the bee takes out, with its hinder feet, the plates of wax which are contained in the receptacles under the abdomen; and, by means of its fore feet, carries them to its mouth, where the wax is moistened and masticated, so as to give it that degree of softness and ductility which fit it for being worked. When thus prepared, it is applied to the roof of the hive; and other bees contributing fresh materials

in quick succession, a sort of block of wax is raised, of a lenticular shape, thick at the top, and tapering towards the edges. Hitherto no trace of the angular forms which are to be given to it, can be discerned: this is effected by a series of operations, in the following manner. A single bee takes its station on one side of the block of wax, and scoops out a vertical channel of the breadth of an ordinary cell, along the middle of that surface; accumulating the materials thus dug out all round the margin. No sooner has the line been traced, than other bees arrive in succession, relieving one another, often to the number of twenty, before the cavity on that side is sufficiently cleared out. They next operate on the other side, where two bees take their station, one on each side of the middle line, the situation of which they are enabled to distinguish from its being slightly prominent in consequence of the force with which the depression has been made on the other side. Each of these bees are now employed in excavating the wax at its respective station, so that the foundations of two cells are laid, the line between them corresponding to the middle of the cell on the opposite side. By degrees, all these hollows are rendered deeper and broader; their line of junction becomes a straight ridge; their sides assume the form of planes; their curved margins are fashioned into straight lines, which meet in regular angles. When the pyramidal partition at the bottom of any cell is finished, the bees build up walls from its edges, so as to complete the prismatic part of the cell. The second, and all the succeeding rows of cells, are formed exactly by similar steps: a wall being first raised, and modelled into the shape of a pyramidal partition, from the edges of which the lateral plates of the cells are built. The projecting parts of one side of the partition being made to correspond with the depressions on the other, an equal thickness is preserved throughout. As the building of one set of cells advances, others are begun; so that several rows at once are receiving additions, and room is allowed for the employment of a great number of workers at the same time. The row first constructed is the groundwork of that which succeeds; and this, in its turn, determines the situation of the next; the form and disposition of the parts of every cell being ultimately dependent upon that of the original cell raised by the founder of the comb. While the work is still proceeding, the recently formed cells do not attain the same length as those begun at an earlier period; the comb has a semi-lenticular form, broad at the base and centre, and tapering below and towards the sides; but when there is no longer any space for its lateral extension, all the cells acquire an equal depth, and the two surfaces become planes, exactly parallel to each other. The author

concludes, from all that he has observed, that the geometrical relations, which are conspicuous in their works, are more the necessary result of their mode of proceeding, than the principle by which their labour is guided.

The deviations from their usual methods of building, present many curious subjects of inquiry. Those rules of architecture, which, under ordinary circumstances, appear to be so rigidly prescribed, give way on various occasions where new ends are to be attained, or unusual obstacles are to be overcome. It is indeed highly interesting to watch these insects, impelled, as it might appear to a superficial observer, by some principle which determines them to a particular routine of conduct, occasionally emancipating themselves from these rigid laws, and assuming the prerogative of interpreting the intentions of their legislator. Many such anomalies will be recognized by an attentive scrutiny of the methods employed by bees in the construction of different parts of the comb, and will appear totally repugnant to the idea of their following some blind instinct. They will be found to change the direction of the combs, in order to avoid certain obstacles; such as a pane of glass; on which, from its smoothness, their feet can have no hold; and this change is always begun before the work has reached the glass. Portions of combs which have been broken off, and have fallen in different positions are joined to the entire comb by new cells, in which new modes of construction are resorted to, suited to the particular circumstances. Very different methods are employed in connecting the sides of the combs to the interior surfaces of the hives, according to the nature and the position of these surfaces. The compensations which are made in the size and disposition of the planes, which compose the terminal pyramid, in order to adapt them to these new forms, and to the varying capacities of the cells, are equally indicative of choice and selection, and are generally those best adapted to the end in view. The larger cells, in which the male larvæ are hatched; usually occupy the middle or lateral parts of the combs; and yet they are joined to the smaller cells without disturbing the general regularity of the construction. This is effected by the interposition of three or four series of what may be called cells of transition, of which the bottoms are composed of four, instead of three planes, viz. two rhombs and two hexagons. This transition of form is gradual; and it connects in the most regular manner the perfect pyramidal forms of larger and smaller dimensions, belonging to the larger and the smaller cells. The same gradation is also observed in passing from the rows of the former to those of the latter.

These deviations which Reaumur and Bonnet had cited as examples of irregularity and imperfection, appear, when accurately studied, to be in reality proofs of the most accurate geometric adjustment of particular structures, destined for different purposes. The principal circumstance which determines the last described modification in their architecture, is the sort of eggs which the queen-bee is preparing to bring forth: another cause of deviation may be pointed out in the abundance of provisions which they can lay in store, and for the reception of which they prepare larger and deeper cells, having their axes more inclined to the horizon. Thus do we see every apparent irregularity determined by some sufficient motive, and compensated in other parts by some corresponding change: and so great is the flexibility of the faculties of these insects, that the work can be always adapted to the intended object, whether that object relate to external circumstances, or to domestic policy, whether it concern the interests of individuals, or the welfare of the community at large. The real operation of instinctive, or rather of implanted principles, appears to be restricted to a smaller number of objects of the first necessity, than is commonly imagined; the execution of other points being left to the determination of circumstances, and being modified by a degree of sagacity, of which the operation resembles much more that of choice than of habit or involuntary mechanism. In the architecture of bees, Buffon could see nothing but a necessary result of the efforts of great numbers of insects simultaneously exerting equal degrees of pressure laterally against a mass of soft wax. As the uniform operation of the law of cohesion on the particles of a basaltic stratum disposes them in equal prismatic columns, so does he suppose that the equal pressure of a distending force, would convert a number of similar cylinders, compressed in a limited space, into regular hexagonal prisms. He finds examples of a tendency to assume the hexagonal form in the lines on the membranous wing of the bat; in the reticular folds of the second stomachs of ruminant animals; in the impressions on some flowers, capsules and seeds of vegetables, as well as in the configuration of crystals. But he does not condescend to show how such a principle might apply to the pyramidal forms of the terminal partitions, or to the curious mutual adaptation of the cells on opposite sides; nor does he stop to inquire whether all the cells are of the same dimensions, or how those of different sizes are adjusted to each other. Above all, he thinks it unnecessary to ascertain whether the actual practice of the bees, when building, is conformable to his hypothesis; and whether they all work at the same moment, each for himself alone, without relation to any general design, or reference to the object of the communi-

ty. Loose analogies from other departments of science are caught hold of in support of a crude but sweeping theory, calculated only to satisfy the hasty and superficial gazers on Nature's productions, but crumbling into dust as soon as we attempt its application to the real matters of fact. It is not by such attempts to scale the walls, that we can expect to gain the recesses of the labyrinth.

In the course of the preceding inquiries it was remarked, that the combs, when recently made, had a very different appearance to that which they assumed after a certain time. At first they are perfectly white, semitransparent, soft, but exceedingly fragile, and smooth, without being polished. In a few days they acquire more or less of a yellow tint; their edges become thicker and stronger, so that the comb will now yield considerably before it breaks; their surfaces have a gloss as if varnished over; and they bear a higher temperature before they melt. It was ascertained that these qualities are given to them by the addition of a kind of varnish, with which the whole surface, but more particularly the edges of each plane, are covered, and which is also employed in large quantities as a solder at the junction of the planes which compose the partitions. When chemically examined, this varnish was found to be of the same nature as the propolis with which the interior of the hive is lined. This substance appears to be a gum-resin; and it has long been conjectured to be of vegetable origin; but the particular plants from which the bees collected it, had never been exactly determined. M. Huber ascertained that the buds of the wild poplar can supply them with this material. The matter which imparts to the wax its yellow colour, differs essentially from propolis, being wholly insoluble in alcohol: its colour is destroyed by the light of the sun, and also by nitric acid. The source of this colouring material could not be discovered. The following account of their labours in distributing the propolis on the cells, contains many curious traits of ingenuity.

‘ Un tems serein, une température élevée engagèrent enfin les abeilles à la récolte; on les voyoit revenir de la campagne, chargées de cette gomme résine, qui ressemble à une gelée transparente; cette substance avoit alors la couleur et l'éclat du grenat: on la distinguoit aisément des pelottes farineuses que les autres abeilles apportent en même-tems. Les ouvrières chargées de propolis se joignirent aux grappes qui pendoient du haut de la ruche, on les voyoit parcourir les couches extérieures du massif: quand elles étoient parvenues aux supports des gâteaux, elles s'y reposoient; les s'arrêtoient quelques fois sur les parois verticales de leur domicile, en attendant que les autres ouvrières vinsent les débarrasser de leurs fardeaux. Nous en vîmes effectivement deux ou trois s'ap-

procher de chacune d'elles, prendre avec leurs dents la propolis sur les jambes de leurs compagnes, et partir aussitôt avec ces provisions. Le haut de la ruche offroit le spectacle le plus animé; une foule d'abeilles s'y rendoient de toutes parts; la récolte, la distribution et les divers emplois de la propolis étoient alors leur occupation dominante: les unes portoient entre leurs dents la matière dont elles avoient déchargé les pourvoyeuses et la dépoisoient sur les montans des chassiss ou sur les supports des gâteaux; les autres se hâtoient de l'étendre comme un vernis avant qu'elle fut durcie; ou bien elles en formoient des cordons proportionnés aux interstices des parois qu'elles vouloient mastiquer. Rien de plus varié que leurs opérations; mais ce que nous étions le plus intéressés à connoître, c'étoit l'art avec lequel elles appliquoient la propolis dans l'intérieur des alvéoles. Nous fixames donc notre attention sur celles qui nous parurent disposées à s'en occuper, on les distinguoit aisément de la multitude des travailleuses, parcequ'elles avoient leurs têtes tournées vers la glace horizontale. Lorsqu'elles en eurent atteint la superficie, elles y déposèrent la propolis qui brilloit entre leurs dents, et la placèrent à peu près au milieu de l'espace qui séparoit les gâteaux. Nous les vîmes alors s'occuper à conduire cette substance gomme-résineuse au véritable lieu de sa destination; profitant des points d'appuis qu'elle pouvoit leur fournir par sa viscosité, elles s'y suspendoient aussitôt à l'aide des crochets de leurs jambes postérieures, et sembloient se balancer au-dessous du plafond vitré; l'effet de ce mouvement étoit de porter leurs corps en avant et de le ramener en arrière; à chaque impulsion nous voyons le tas de propolis s'approcher des alvéoles, les abeilles se servoient de leurs pattes antérieures qui étoient restées libres, pour balayer ce qui avoit été détaché par leurs dents, et pour réunir ces fragmens répandus sur la surface du verre; celui-ci reprit sa transparence lorsque toute la propolis fut amenée auprès de l'orifice des cellules. Quelques abeilles entrèrent dans celles qui étoient vitrées; c'étoit là que je les attendois, et que j'espérois les voir travailler tout à mon aise: celles-ci n'apportoient point de propolis, mais leurs dents appliquées contre la cire étoient employées à polir et à nettoyer les alvéoles, elles les faisoient agir dans les sillons angulaires formés par la rencontre de leurs pans, elles leur donnoient plus de profondeur, elles ratissoient les parties raboteuses de ces bords; pendant ce travail les antennes sondoient le terrain; ces organes placés au devant de leurs mâchoires leur indiquoient sans doute les molécules protubérantes qu'elles devoient enlever.

Lorsqu'une de ces ouvrières eut assez limé la cire dans l'espace anguleux que ses dents parcouroient, elle sortit de la cellule en reculant, s'approcha du tas de propolis qui se trouvoit le plus à sa portée, y plongea ses dents et tira un fil de cette matière résineuse; elle le rompit aussitôt en écartant sa tête brusquement, le prit avec les crochets de ses pattes antérieures, et rentra dans la cellule qu'elle venoit de préparer. Elle n'hésita point à placer le filet entre les

deux pièces qu'elle avoit applanies, et au fond de l'angle que celles-ci formoient ensemble; mais elle trouva, sans doute, ce cordon trop long pour l'espace qu'il devoit recouvrir, car elle en retrancha une partie; elle se servoit tour-à-tour de ses pattes antérieures pour l'ajuster et l'étendre entre deux pans, ou de ses dents, pour l'enchasser dans le sillon anguleux qu'elle vouloit garnir de cette matière. Après ces différentes opérations, le cordon de propolis parut être encore trop large et trop massif au gré de cette abeille, elle se remit tout de suite à le ratisser avec les mêmes instrumens, et chaque coup tendoit à en enlever quelque parcelle: lorsque ce travail fut achevé nous admirâmes l'exactitude avec laquelle le cordon étoit ajusté entre les deux pans de l'alvéole. L'ouvrière ne s'en tint pas là, elle se retourna vers un autre partie de la cellule, fit agir ses mâchoires contre la cire sur les bords de deux autres trapèzes, et nous comprîmes qu'elle préparoit encore la place que devoit recouvrir un nouveau filet de propolis. Nous ne doutions pas qu'elle ne s'approvisionnât de cette gomme sur le tas qui lui en avoit fourni précédemment; mais contre notre attente elle tira parti de la portion qu'elle avoit retranchée du premier filet, l'arrangea dans l'espace qui lui étoit destiné, et lui donna toute la solidité et le fini dont il étoit susceptible. D'autres abeilles achevèrent l'ouvrage que celle-ci venoit de commencer; tous les pans des alvéoles furent bientôt encadrés par des filets de propolis, les abeilles en placèrent aussi sur leurs orifices; nous ne pûmes saisir l'instant où elles étoient occupées à les vernir, mais il est facile de concevoir actuellement de quelle manière elles doivent s'y prendre.' p. 264.

The expedients which bees resort to for defending their hive against numerous enemies, furnish perhaps the most curious instances of ingenuity and contrivance of any part of their policy; and are the more deserving of study, as they often admit of direct comparison with human artifices. The sphinx atropos, a very large species of moth, commits great devastation in the hive, whenever it can succeed in getting into the anterior. A hive that has been visited by this nocturnal depredator, is generally soon after deserted by its inhabitants; and on examination, is found to be entirely robbed of its honey, of which it had before contained an ample provision. It was some time before the cause of these frequent losses of bees was discovered; and when detected, it was found that the only effectual method of securing the hive from the attacks of this formidable moth, was to contract the door-way, so that the large body of the sphinx could not pass through, while sufficient room was left for the entrance and exit of the bees. It is very remarkable, that in some hives where the cultivator had not employed this expedient, the bees had, of their own accord, adopted a similar contrivance, and had built up, within the hive, and immediately behind the door, a thick wall, in which several holes



were left just sufficient for the passage of the working bees. In different hives, considerable variety in the construction of these lines of defence was observable; different plans of fortification had been followed by these expert and sagacious engineers. Sometimes a single wall was turned into arches at the top; at others, several buttresses were placed in succession behind each other, as if in imitation of the bastions of a citadel; doors were constructed, which were masked by walls in front, and opened in the face of another series of ramparts, and in situations which did not answer to the original entrances. On other occasions, a series of massive arches were built, so as to cross one another, and thus leave a very narrow aperture: and the whole formed a compact and solid structure. When the danger is less pressing, when the population of the colony has much increased, and the abundance of flowers abroad requires the constant passage of the bees to and from the hive, all these fortifications are demolished, until fresh subject of alarm arises. Those raised in 1804 were destroyed in the ensuing spring. The sphinx did not make its appearance either that year or the next; but in the autumn of 1807, they returned in considerable numbers; the bees immediately barricadoed their doors, and thus succeeded in saving themselves from the danger which threatened them. In May 1808, they again dismantled the fortress, to make way for the swarms that were sent off. If the farmer should have already taken the precaution to straighten the entrance, the bees, finding that they have been anticipated in their labours, do not employ any additional measures of security.

It is for those who deny the existence of any degree of reflection in insects, to explain these facts on some other principle.

The volume of which we have now given an account, must recommend itself to all who pursue philosophical inquiries, by the excellent specimens it contains of the methods of investigating the processes of nature in the animal world. The history of discoveries on the subject of bees, about which so many volumes have been written, and to which the attention of the agriculturist as well as the naturalist has been directed from the earliest times, is highly instructive, as disclosing the progress of the human mind in the attainment of knowledge. In the works of Aristotle, Pliny, Virgil and Columella among the antients, and of Swammerdam, Maraldi, Reaumur, Hatlof, Riem, Schirach, Debray, Bonnet, Hunter and Huber among the moderns, we may trace the rise and fall of various opinions, and the slow confirmation of truths, which, now that they are established, we wonder could ever have been disputed. We are in the situ-

ation of a spectator who looks down from a commanding eminence on the tangled paths which wind up the ascent, and forgets the labour and perplexity of the traveller who first explored his way over the craggy steep. We are amused with the motley admixture of truth and error apparent in the works of the older authors, and the indolent acquiescence with which those errors have been copied and transmitted through succeeding ages. While we gather confidence in results which are founded on legitimate induction, we are at the same time taught a salutary scepticism with regard to those theories which rest on less direct evidence. We learn what difficulties impede us in the very outset of our inquiries; how laborious and arduous is the task of collecting accurate observations; how liable we are to delusion from the magic power of imagination, which persuades us that we see what is not before us, which dresses up what we expect or desire in the guise of reality, and which insensibly lures us into partial or exaggerated statements. A conjecture thrown out at random has sometimes reached the threshold of an important discovery, which has yet remained unexplored till a long time afterwards, when inquiry has led to it by a very different path. Truth often lies concealed near the very spot where we had looked for her in vain; her subtle essence eludes our grasp in a thousand ways; and, even when fully in our view, she appears in such unexpected shapes, and fantastic disguises, that we fail to recognize the object of our search.

ART. VI. *Speech of Mr PHILLIPS, delivered in the Court of Common Pleas, Dublin, in the Case of GUTHRIE versus STERNE; with a Short Preface.* London, Macmillan. 1815.

WHATEVER grievances the sister kingdom may have to complain of, at the hands of this country, we apprehend, she cannot accuse us of insensibility to the worth and genius of her people. On the contrary, there seems to exist a spirit of exaggeration regarding them—a disposition to make up for the evils occasioned by misgovernment and abuse, by a somewhat unlimited praise of Irish warm-heartedness, and Irish eloquence. Our Irish brethren, too, have generally been very ready to accept of these honours; and to console themselves for the loss of more substantial good, by admitting that they are indeed the best-hearted and most eloquent of mankind. From time to time; doubts may have been hinted as to the soundness of this doctrine; and sceptical or cold-blooded observers may have fancied they could

trace both the one quality and the other to a certain vehemence of temperament, the growth of imperfect civilization ; the more especially, when the warmth of feeling was perceived to be often in alliance with craft as well as violence, and the glow of fancy to be unchastened by sound taste. But, generally speaking, the opinion of men seems fixed upon the subject ; and he would meet with a sorry reception, we imagine, on either side of the Channel, who should dispute the position, that Ireland is the land of generous natures and eloquent tongues. Accordingly, we are not about to deny any such tenet ; we only claim for ourselves the privilege of watching the attempts made to import the Irish article into this country ; and, admitting it to be admirably fitted for home consumption, we think nothing can be much clearer than its unsuitableness to our market. The reader will immediately perceive, that we are speaking merely of the kind of composition usually denominated Irish Oratory, in which the better speakers who have come over to England deal very sparingly, and the best not at all,—but of which the speech of Mr Phillips now before us is almost entirely made up. Its characteristics are, great force of imagination, without any regularity or restraint ; great copiousness of language, with little selection or propriety ; vehemence of sentiment, often out of place ; warmth of feeling, generally overdone ; a frequent substitution of jingling words for ideas ; and such a defect in skill (with reference to the object in view), as may be supposed to result from the intemperate love of luxuriant declamation, to which all higher considerations are sacrificed. The merits peculiar to this school of rhetoric, we are far from denying ; but they are of dangerous example, and, at the best, of a subordinate cast. They are not indeed by any means of easy attainment ; and even their excess, the fault they are principally liable to, is the vice of clever, not of dull minds : Yet no one whose taste is not extremely faulty, or corrupted by the study of models from this school, can hesitate a moment in rejecting them, when offered as samples of legitimate eloquence. We purpose, therefore, to bestow a little attention upon Mr Phillips's speech, coming forward, as it should seem, to claim the praise, not merely of a speech which did its business with the jury, and might be forgotten, but one that deserves to live, and be regarded as a specimen of the art—a specimen, too, suited to the English as well as Irish taste. We must frankly own, that, with every sense of its merits as a piece of Irish eloquence, we think they are not such as can recommend it to the more severe judgment of this country.

The purposes for which the Preface informs us this Speech is

published, are 'the encouragement of eloquence,' and the restoration of 'our sinking virtue.' It was delivered for the plaintiff, in an action for criminal conversation; and it pierced (we are told) 'the heart of the defendant, even to the blackness of its core, by the withering glance of indignant genius.' The editor, indeed, seems to be aware of the powerful circumstances which are likely to counteract the effects of 'the breath of eloquence in reanimating the sleeping energies' of virtue. But he argues judiciously enough, that if the 'electrical effects of the eloquence of Demosthenes upon the populace of Greece could nerve the arm of the coward, and sooth the ruffled spirit of the disaffected,'—'why should it not now be successful in correcting, or at least shaming, the depravities of the abandoned?'—and therewithal he gives us a metaphor of some length, touching a 'wily serpent.' It is, however, with the Speech itself, and not with the Preface, that we now have to do; and we proceed to consider it, laying wholly out of our view, as justice requires, the praises of the editor, and only recollecting of the speaker the very favourable impression left upon the public by his beautiful poem of the Emerald Isle, and his independent and honourable conduct in the political contests of his country.

We began the perusal of this performance under the impression that, as it was to be judged by a severe standard, some accuracy of diction might, among other essentials of oratory, be looked for. The two first sentences undeceived us; in which correctness is sacrificed to an unmeaning jingle three several times.

'In this case I am of counsel for the plaintiff, who has deputed me, with the kind *concession* of my much more efficient colleagues, to detail to you the story of his misfortunes. In the course of a long friendship which has existed between us, originating in *mutual* pursuits, and cemented by *mutual* attachment, never until this instant did I feel any thing but pleasure in the *claims which it created*, or the *duty which it imposed*.' p. 1.

*Concession* is here, rather awkwardly, used for *assent*; but then the former word jingles with *kind*; *mutual* is put for *common*, because it was to be repeated in the other limb of the sentence; and a distinction is created between the *claims* and the *duty* of friendship, that we may hear *roundly* of the 'claims which it created, or the duty which it imposed.' The expression, 'to detail to you the story of his misfortunes,' is not happy—scarcely accurate. It should have been, 'to tell you the story,' or 'to detail the particulars;'—but rather the former. A friendship originating in similar pursuits is intelligible; but 'a friendship cement-

‘ed by mutual attachment,’ after it had so originated, is not sense—it is as if he had said, ‘a friendship originating in our pursuits, and cemented by our friendship.’ In the third sentence Mr Phillips says, that ‘he cannot help *being pained at the kindness of a partiality* which,’ &c. ‘*To be pained,*’ never was good English, though there are old authorities for it; to be pained *at* a thing, we suspect never was English at all;—but ‘the kindness of partiality,’ is an absurdity in any language. In the next sentence, we have ‘misfortune veiling the furrows which its tears had burned, and hiding under the decorations of an artful drapery the heart-rent heavings with which its bosom throbbed;’ a metaphor by no means correct, and therefore wholly to be rejected as a figure,—but, were it ever so just, far too violent for the very opening of a speech. What orator ever ventured upon such ground at the end of the first minute?—Before he has been speaking another minute, we have him (as might indeed be expected) among ‘earthquakes that convulse, and pestilence that infects;’ and then comes one of the most laboured passages of the Speech, which closes the exordium. It begins with an expression, borrowed, we believe, from the American dictionary, and contains, beside much false ornament, some words, the coining of which could only have been excused in the vehemence of an advanced period of the declamation.

‘No matter how we may have *graduated* in the scale of nations; no matter with what wreath we may have been adorned, or what blessings we may have been denied; no matter what may have been our feuds, or follies, or our misfortunes: it has at least been universally conceded, that our hearths were the home of the domestic virtues, and that love, honour, and conjugal fidelity, were the dear and indisputable deities of our household. Around the fire-side of the Irish hovel hospitality *circumscribed* its sacred circle; and a provision to punish, created a suspicion of the possibility of its violation. But of all the ties that bound, of all the bounties that blessed her, Ireland most obeyed, most loved, most revered, the nuptial contract. She saw it the gift of Heaven, the charm of earth, the joy of the present, the promise of the future, the innocence of enjoyment, the chastity of passion, the sacrament of love: the slender curtain that shades the sanctuary of her marriage-bed, has in its purity the splendour of the mountain snow, and for its protection the texture of the mountain adamant. Gentlemen, that national sanctuary has been invaded; that venerable divinity has been violated; and its tenderest pledges torn from their shrine, by the polluted rapine of a kindless, heartless, *prayerless*, remorseless adulterer. To you,—religion defiled, morals insulted, law despised, public order foully violated, and individual happiness wantonly wounded,—male

their melancholy appeal. You will hear the facts with as much patience as indignation will allow; I will myself ask of you to adjudge them with as much mercy as justice will admit.' p. 2, 3.

Oratory has its licenses as well as poetry, and must not be severely scrutinized when it deals with matters of fact; else should we feel disposed to question the assumption upon which Mr Phillips here proceeds, that Ireland is so peculiarly favoured in respect of domestic purity. Certain it is, that the records of our courts in this Island, not unfrequently display Irish names; and even in the Sister Kingdom itself, it is a little singular that the two largest sums ever recovered in such actions were awarded; not as Mr Phillips might, perchance, imagine, because of the novelty of the offences, but because of the peculiar profligacy of the cases. 'The purity of the mountain snow, and the texture of the adamant,' were, in one of these instances, attacked by the plaintiff's own brother: We should have been most far indeed from arguing against the purity of Irish morals, because such things had taken place; but then our Irish brethren should not claim a monopoly of chastity as their national peculiarity, in the face of facts like these.

The narrative of the case, which follows the passage we have been commenting upon, is much less flowery, and much better composition; though we find such things, here and there, as 'the dæmon of its destined desolation, lurking hid in the very sunbeam of happiness.' And the entertainment at the Connaught Circuit Table, is depicted as 'the flow of soul, and the philosophy of pleasure.' There is also some want of skill in putting forward the statements, that the defendant had little more than a common acquaintance with the plaintiff, and that he had spent part of his life in prison for debt.

There seem to have been some circumstances in this case peculiarly striking, and such as afforded the finest field for pathetic eloquence. The seducer had been brutal enough to maltreat the object of his love almost immediately after their elopement; and, she having left children, as well as a husband, from whom she had experienced uniform tenderness, and to whom she had felt the warmest affection, the agony of her sufferings wrung from her these touching exclamations—'My poor husband! My dear children! Oh! if they would even let my little William live with me, it would be some consolation to my broken heart!' How to deal with so affecting an incident, was unquestionably a great difficulty in the task of the orator. A simple narrative, but really and unaffectedly and feelingly simple, was clearly the first part of the course to be pursued. Mr Phillips thinks he performs this best by reading it verbatim from his

brief; but he flings into a parenthesis something by way of relieving, or, as he would call it, seasoning the simplicity of the story; for, mention being made of her 'magnificent dress,' as observed by the chambermaid, he exclaims, 'Poor wretch! she 'was decked and adorned for the sacrifice!' The story being brought fairly before the audience, there remained the much more difficult task of making the proper use of it. Upon this point there might be various opinions, even among the masters of the art. But, we apprehend, that few would have advised starting with a poetical quotation; and, at any rate, no one would have recommended the one chosen by Mr Phillips—

'Alas! nor children more can she behold,  
Nor friends, nor sacred home!'—

which we might almost suspect to have been taken, along with the story, from the brief. The following is his commentary at length; and, with much to offend against sound taste, it contains undoubted marks of genius. The transition to the husband is happy, and well managed; it is more plain, too, than the rest of the passage.

'Well might she lament over her fallen fortunes; well might she mourn over the memory of the days when the sun of Heaven seemed to rise but for her happiness; well might she recall the home she had endeared, the children she had nursed, the hapless husband, of whose life she was the pulse. But one short week before this, earth could not reveal a lovelier vision: Virtue blessed, affection followed, beauty beamed on her;—the light of every eye, the charm of every heart, she moved along in cloudless chastity, cheered by the song of love, and circled by the splendours she created! Behold her now, the loathsome refuse of an adulterous bed; festering in the very infection of her crimes; the scoff and scorn of their unmanly, merciless, inhuman author! But thus it ever is with the votaries of guilt; the birth of their crime is the death of their enjoyment; and the wretch who flings his offering on its altar, falls an immediate victim to the flame of his devotion. I am glad it is so; it is a wise, retributive dispensation; it bears the stamp of a preventive Providence. I rejoice it is so in the present instance: first, because this premature infliction must ensure repentance in the wretched sufferer; and next, because, as this adulterous fiend has rather acted on the suggestions of his nature than his shape, by rebelling against the finest impulse of man, he has made himself an outlaw from the sympathies of humanity. Why should he expect that charity from you, which he would not spare even to the misfortunes he had inflicted? For the honour of the form in which he is disguised, I am willing to hope he was so blinded by his vice, that he did not see the full extent of those misfortunes. If he had feelings capable of being touched, it is not to the faded victim of his own weakness, and of his wickedness, that I would direct them. There is nothing in her crime which affrights

charity from its commiseration. But, Gentlemen, there is one, over whom pity may mourn, for he is wretched: and mourn without a blush, for he is guiltless. How shall I depict to you the deserted husband? To every other object in this catalogue of calamity there is some crime attached which checks compassion. But here—oh! if ever there was a man amiable, it was that man; oh! if ever there was a husband fond, it was that husband: his hope, his joy, his ambition, was domestic; his toils were forgotten in the affections of his home; and amid every adverse variety of fortune, Hope pointed to his children, and he was comforted. By this vile act that hope is blasted, that house is a desert, those children are parentless.’ p. 14, 15.

Another remarkable circumstance in this case was, that the plaintiff’s mother fell a sacrifice to the distress of her son’s family, and died before the trial of the cause. Mr Phillips makes a good use of this passage; but we are really prevented from extracting his observations, by the dreadful piece of violent figure which spoils it;—he actually speaks of ‘the solace of an artery torn from the heart-strings.’

It is impossible to vary the ordinary topics which cases of seduction present. The orator will dwell chiefly, no doubt, upon the peculiarities of the one in hand; but he must also bring before his auditors, those features, which it has in common with others, and which, after all, are likely to be the most important. In portraying these, he can hardly strike out any thing very novel at this time of day; and accordingly, no one will blame Mr Phillips for resorting to such established topics—(established, because they have been found effective)—as enumerating the excuses which his adversary might have had for his conduct, but which he had not. Yet it must be observed, that this should be an enumeration, and very little more. He must not dwell upon them, as if he were really urging them in favour of the defendant, when he is only to show that his conduct is left bare of all palliation. Had he been set to defend the seduction, he might have enlarged upon the enormities which had not been committed, because the direct tendency of such a description is to diminish the effect of the thing actually committed; and this effect is lessened by every shade that is cast upon the contrast. But nothing can be more absurd, than to descant at length upon a topic of palliation, merely in order to say that your adversary had no such excuse. The following passage sins grievously against this rule; and is moreover in the worst style of florid and mawkish novel-writing.

‘It might perhaps have been, that, in their early years, this guilty pair had cherished an innocent attachment; it might have been, that in their spring of life, when Fancy waved her fairy wand



around them, till all above was sunshine, and all beneath was flowers; when to their clear and charmed vision this ample world was but a weedless garden, where every tint spoke Nature's loveliness, and every sound breathed Heaven's melody, and every breeze was but embodied fragrance; it might have been that, in this cloudless holiday, Love wove his roseate bondage around them, till their young hearts so grew together, that a separate existence ceased, and life itself became a sweet identity; it might have been that, envious of this Paradise, some worse than dæmon tore them from each other, to pine for years in absence, and at length to perish in a palliated impiety. Oh! Gentlemen, in such a case, Justice herself, with her uplifted sword, would call on Mercy to preserve the victim. There was no such palliation: the period of their acquaintance was little more than sufficient for the maturity of their crime; and they dare not libel Love, by shielding under its soft and sacred name, the loathsome revels of an adulterous depravity.' p. 18, 19.

A little further on, in handling another such topic, he alludes to Ireland as 'a land of courage and chivalry, where the female form has been held as a patent direct from the Divinity, bearing in its chaste and charmed helplessness, the assurance of its strength, and the amulet of its protection.' All which, we venture to say, is neither tolerable eloquence, nor even middling poetry—but wild incoherent rhapsody—a patchwork of broken pieces of figures, brought together to make some new figure,—without consistency of form, symmetry of proportions, or harmony, or even nature in the colouring.

We now approach a part of the speech, which was marked by the most unequivocal, and, we trust, universal testimony, of the audience's approbation. 'A burst of applause,' we are informed, 'from the whole Bar and auditory, followed the delivery of this passage.' It seems the defendant had been vile, and also stupid enough to avow, that a love of distinction was the motive of his conduct; at least so Mr Phillips chooses to apply an expression used by him; and from thence he draws the passage so much applauded.

'I had heard, indeed, that ambition was a vice,—but then a vice, so equivocal, it verged on virtue; that it was the aspiration of a spirit, sometimes perhaps appalling, always magnificent; that though its grasp might be fate, and its flight might be famine, still it reposed on earth's pinnacle, and played in heaven's lightnings; that though it might fall in ruins, it arose in fire, and was withal so splendid, that even the horrors of that fall became immersed and mitigated in the beauties of that aberration! But here is an ambition—base, and barbarous, and illegitimate; with all the grossness of the vice, with none of the grandeur of the virtue; a mean, muffled, dastard incendiary, who, in the silence of sleep, and in the shades of midnight, steals his Ephesian torch into the fane, which it was virtue to adore, and worse than sacrilege to have violated.' p. 21.

Now, we will venture to affirm, that if any one had dared in this country to produce such a *flight*, and had escaped the worst of calamities—moving his hearers to laughter, he would infallibly have encountered the next worst—the leaving their feelings far behind him, and uttering with vast emotion a most impassioned sentence, which fell dead and flat upon an audience unmoved—or ashamed of what they heard. We can much more easily forgive the other burst of applause which is said to have followed the conclusion of the Speech—both because there is a tendency to applaud at the end of any harangue delivered with feeling, and because it is much better than the former passage. The topic, indeed, is not a common one in such cases; he asks damages to relieve the children of the marriage—but he works up the matter very well; and at the end more of vehemence can always be tolerated than in any other part.

‘ Believe me, Gentlemen, if it were not for those children, he would not come here to-day to seek such remuneration; if it were not that, by your verdict, you may prevent those little innocent defrauded wretches from wandering beggars, as well as orphans, on the face of this earth. Oh, I know I need not ask this verdict from your mercy; I need not extort it from your compassion; I will receive it from your justice. I do conjure you, not as fathers, but as husbands: not as husbands, but as citizens; not as citizens, but as men; not as men, but as Christians: by all your obligations, public, private, moral, and religious; by the hearth profaned, by the home desolated, by the canons of the living God foully spurned: save; oh! save your fire-sides from the contagion, your country from the crime, and perhaps thousands, yet unborn, from the shame, and sin, and sorrow of this example.’ p. 23.

Among the least judicious parts of this speech, are the allusions to Lord Erskine. Of course we shall not be suspected of dissenting from the highest panegyrick which eloquence, even more inflated than Mr Phillips’s can bestow upon that great orator and most skillful advocate, how much soever we may regret that the praises of so fine a model should be chanted in so unchastened and even preposterous a strain. Neither must we be supposed to insinuate, that Mr Phillips introduces Lord Erskine by way of comparison with himself. Of any such folly we freely acquit him; but there is something singularly injudicious in calling the attention of his audience to that distinguished master’s performances in cases of the same sort, both because it shows that he is straining at an imitation of those models, (a thing not good in poetry, and fatal to eloquence), and because it reminds us how great is his failure. Let him, indeed, find in the whole compass of Lord Erskine’s orations, one single instance of the business in hand, the great work of

convincing or persuading, sacrificed to imagery or mere declamation, that is, sentence-making, and speaking for speaking-sake—and we shall advise him to take the yet more severe graces of Demosthenes for his model. But until he has found this specimen, we must recommend him to study Lord Erskine, rather than to praise him. If indeed he must praise him, we venture to suggest, that ‘a subject suited to his *legitimate* mind,’ is not intelligible—and that the following passage presents no very clear idea, though meant to be very descriptive—‘By the rare union of all that was learned in law with all that was lucid in eloquence; by the singular combination of all that was pure in morals with all that was profound in wisdom; he has stamped upon every action of his life *the blended authority of a great mind and an unquestionable conviction.*’

To conclude, Mr Phillips is a man of undoubted talents, and even genius. He requires only a severe controul over his fancy, and a careful study of the chaster models of composition, to excel in oratory. But the present specimen is unfavourable in itself; and only holds out a promise, which—if he listens to the plaudits of such auditors as he delivered it to—we are afraid will never be fulfilled.

**ART. VII.** *An Account of the Kingdom of Cabul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary and India; comprising a View of the Afghaan Nation, and a History of the Dooraunee Monarchy.* By the Hon. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE, Resident at the Court of Poona, and late Envoy to the King of Cabul. 4to. Longman & Co., and Murray, London, 1815.

*Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon.* By CLAUDIUS JAMES RICH, Esq. Resident at the Court of the Pacha of Bagdad. 8vo. Longman & Co., and Murray, London, 1815.

*Description du Pachalic de Bagdad.* 8vo. Paris, 1809.

**T**HERE are not many regions of the globe of which the history and geography are less known than those of the country which is the subject of Mr Elphinstone's important and distinguished work. Yet it is a country in no respect uninteresting. Both its utmost length and its greatest breadth are above seven hundred miles. The population seems, upon probable grounds, to be estimated at fourteen millions. The governing part of this population are a peculiar race, speaking a language radically different from other tongues, and distinguished by manners, in-

stitutions and character from the great nations who border on their territory on the eastern and western sides.

The Sovereigns of this country, before their power was destroyed by civil confusions, might be classed, in point of strength, as about the fourth or fifth of the Mahometan world. It had been annexed to Persia, and subjected by the Moguls in their progress towards the conquest of India. No conquest however effaced, or seems to have much weakened the original character of the inhabitants. Their mountains, and still more the spirit with which their mountains filled them, enabled them, in general, very quickly to throw off a foreign yoke. Their country has been the seat of the greatest Mahometan empires. They have been masters of Persia; and, in almost every age, from their conversion to the Mussulman faith to the present time, they have entered India as conquerors. Afghaun colonies were settled in various Indian districts. Several Royal families of that nation reigned at Delhi before the house of Taimour; and military adventurers of the same race, are not yet banished from India, by the general peace and order which the establishment of the British authority has imposed. In addition to these claims on the curiosity of those who seek to increase their knowledge of the earth and its inhabitants, Afghaunistan possessed a more than ordinary importance in the eye of those who administer the government, or examine the political relations of British India. The destruction of the French and Mahratta power in Hindustan in 1804, almost brought it into contact with the dependencies of the government of Bengal, from which it is separated by the great, but tumultuary and fluctuating strength of the Seiks—by the disorderly and harassed principalities of the Rajpoot country, now the sole insecure retreat of Hindu independence—by various feudatories and tributaries from Cashmere to the mouths of the Indus, who, in the late convulsions of the Afghaun monarchy, have almost shaken off their nominal dependence—by the northern mountains, the Indus, and by the Desert—which, with more or less width and sterility, stretches from the Punjaub to the gulph of Cutch. None of the intermediate states or chiefs are powerful enough to stop the progress of an army; and even the natural barriers on the western frontier of India, have been crossed in almost every age, from Alexander to Nadir Shah.

As soon, therefore, as the British government apprehended danger from the side of Europe, it was natural that they should seek to conciliate a neighbouring government of such importance, and to explore a country so little known, through which an European invader must advance. It is now easy to look

down on such apprehensions with contempt. But they were at the time perfectly reasonable. At the peace of Tilsit, Napoleon seemed to be the master of the continent of Europe; and whoever is master of Europe, may be the master at least of the Old World. Russia, become his most devoted ally, held the north of Asia. That vast empire, whose armies might visit Peking with a facility a hundred fold greater than that with which they have already twice visited Paris, which has frontiers within a week's sail of Constantinople, and within a week's march of Tehraun, is separated by no powerful state from the northern frontier of the British possessions in India. It would have seemed far less extravagant to predict the entry of a Russian army into Delhi, or even Calcutta, than its entry into Paris. In such a project as the expedition by land against India, it was a most peculiarly fortunate circumstance to have an ally equally powerful and zealous on the flank of the whole line of advance, and of the territory to be invaded. It is accordingly certain, that this gigantic plan was seriously entertained by Napoleon; though not so confidently and so earnestly as it has more than once been treated, and as it probably again will be contemplated, at St Petersburg. In such an operation, it was indeed manifestly impossible to keep open the channels of supply and reinforcement, and to secure the possibility of retreat, by the ordinary methods of war. A chain of military posts, extending from the Dardanelles to the Indus, would have been a conception beyond the boldness of the most inflamed imagination. The only substitute was a chain of capitals, in which imprisoned governments might be both hostages for the conduct of their subjects, and instruments for exacting the pay and provision of the invading army from their dominions. It was indisputably a part of the plan, to obtain possession of Constantinople and Tehraun, under friendly pretexts; and to employ the Turkish and Persian governments to facilitate the advance, and to secure the supply of the French and Russian armies. As far as the provinces which form the south-eastern banks of the Caspian, the plan was probably considered as complete. The patronage of the missions, since the time of Lewis XIV., had established a connexion between France and Persia. The language and literature of western Asia were cultivated at Paris with brilliant success. The old and reasonable habits of their diplomacy in the Levant, supplied them with young men perfectly qualified to converse with the Orientals. Men of considerable talents were placed in the Consulships of Syria; and the Rousseaus, a family of Genevese extraction, (related to Jean Jacques), were sent back to Bagdad, where they had long been established, and

had become almost naturalized. The father or uncle of general Gardanne had been Consul-General in Persia, where perhaps the general was born.

Their success in gaining the Persian government seemed to have been complete. The conquests of Napoleon were well known in that country. A Persian ambassador had even witnessed his greatest power and splendour during the first Polish war. In the East, to pursue aggrandizement is considered as the first duty of a government. Moderation is despised, as springing only from sloth or fear. Faith and justice are words sometimes used to dupe the vulgar. While Napoleon continued triumphant in Europe, all attempts to detach Persia from his cause appeared to be unavailing. As soon as serious reverses in Spain proved that the French had formidable enemies behind them, the exertions of the British negotiators began to promise more success. In negotiation with Persia, there was another advantage on the side of France. It is difficult to be at the same time the ally of Russia and of Persia. They are natural enemies. The ambition of the one power, and the fears of the other, where a great military empire is placed on a frontier in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, are permanent sources of enmity. While France was the enemy of Russia, she could promise aid against that dreaded neighbour. When she became the ally of Russia, it was with so great a mastery on her part, that she was able to stop the progress of the Russian arms, or, at least, to persuade the Persian government that she possessed such a power. The enmity of Great Britain with Russia was on the contrary accidental—in most states of the world unnatural—and the sway of France over Europe, dangerous to the independence of both states. But, notwithstanding this advantage, the French ascendant at Tehraun began to decay, as soon as it became apparent that France was no longer to be the undisputed mistress of the European continent. It was indeed from the beginning evident, that such an enterprize as that of marching a great French army across the continent of Asia, could not be hazarded even with the slenderest probability of success by any sovereign who left a continental enemy behind. The peace between England and Turkey concurred, with the French failures in the Peninsula, to destroy the influence of Napoleon in Persia.

That pacification, if it be considered in all its effects, as relieving India from danger, as delivering Austria from annoyance on her eastern frontiers, as enfeebling the diversion made by the Turkish army on the Russian frontier in the critical and decisive autumn of 1812, and as an assertion of independence on

the part of Turkey herself, long numbered among the subservient vassals of France, may be justly esteemed one of the greatest services ever rendered by a negotiator to his country, though the excellent and distinguished person who rendered so signal a service, has, we believe, been left to find his reward in the approbation of his own conscience. Constantinople was the mirror in which the Persian statesmen saw the fluctuations of power and policy in Christendom. As soon as England had made peace with the Porte, it was concluded at Tehraun that English friendship must be valuable. Beyond the eastern frontier of Persia, or perhaps beyond the eastern shore of the Caspian, no part of the plan of invasion could have been settled. The state of the country and the character of its governments were too little known to allow any arrangements either political or military. It is true, that some of the French geographical engineers in the retinue of General Gardanne, appear to have found their way into some parts of the Caubul dominions; and some of these intelligent and enterprising officers are said to have penetrated to the mouths of the Indus.

It is certain that the Ameers or rulers of the province of Sind maintained a pretty close correspondence with the French minister at Tehraun. It is well known, that a caravah or caravan of 30,000 persons travels annually from the Russian town of Osenburgh to Bokhara. They travel in the winter, for the sake of melted snow, in a desert almost without water, and on account also of the facility and security of passing the Jaxartes on the ice. Half the people of Bokhara are said to be engaged in the Russian trade, which probably consists chiefly in peltry from Siberia, and European hardware and woollens. Shah Hyder, the King of Bokhara, a prince who can bring 50,000 horse into the field, sent two embassies to the Empress Catharine. The city of Bokhara, still celebrated as a seat of Mussulmaun learning, is said now to contain 100,000 inhabitants. With the caravan from Osenburgh, probably travel the Mussulmaun pilgrims from Tobolski, of whom some visit Mecca every year, where they meet professors of the same faith from Madagascar, from Borneo, and from the mouth of the Senegal. But no negotiation is known to have been carried on, either by France or Russia, with the government of Caubul, or among the Usbeck states to the north, or with the Seiks or Rajpoots, or in Thibet, where the numerous followers of Buddhism among the eastern subjects of Russia might probably have supplied expert and zealous negotiators at the Lama's court.

In the year 1808, when the influence of General Gardanne had reached its highest point in Persia, the government of India

began their measures to guard against the danger which threatened them. Few governments had servants better qualified for diplomatic missions, by general understanding and local experience, by perfect knowledge of the interest of their own and the neighbouring states, and by familiarity with the languages, manners and character of the countries to which they were to be sent. Some of these accomplished gentlemen have since distinguished themselves in European diplomacy. Others have, by valuable works, \* enabled the public to estimate their talents; some have displayed the minds and the knowledge of lawgivers and statesmen, in their examination before both Houses of Parliament at the renewal of the Company's privilege. Mr Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm were chosen by Lord Minto for the embassies to Persia and Caubul. Both were indeed pointed out to him by the general voice of India. Sir John had been before sent as Envoy to Persia by Lord Wellesley, and probably knew the court and country as well as any foreign minister ever knew the state to which he was sent. He found the interest of the enemy paramount. Indeed, any man but himself would have abandoned the case at that time as utterly desperate. But he did much to prepare the way for negotiation in more favourable times, to provide the means of annoying an invader, if supported by Turkey and Persia, and to make the latter power feel that it was possible to bring the force of British India directly to act upon her. By a skilful use of means so slender, that a common eye could not have discovered their existence—by naval demonstrations in the Persian Gulph, which would have placed the important stations of that sea at his command,—he rendered its petty maritime chiefs subservient to his projects; he was ready to avail himself of the disaffection which might arise in Southern Persia, and even to act on the invader's line of advance, through the Pachalic of Bagdad, a territory really independent of its nominal Sovereign at Constantinople; and which it then strongly appeared to be a considerable object of Indian policy to preserve from falling into complete subjection to either of the great monarchies of Turkey or Persia.

---

\* In the first class of which must be placed Col. Wilks's admirable work, of which the continuation will probably be the best history of British India, from the conclusion of Orme to the fall of Seringapatam. It may deserve the consideration of this excellent writer, whether a supplemental volume, from the fall of Seringapatam, to the Mahratta peace of 1805, forming with Orme a generally accessible series of Anglo-Indian history, would not be a fit employment of the leisure which has been restored to him, by events equally momentous and singular.



The results of Sir John's mission are, we rejoice to hear, speedily to be laid before the public. Those who know his talents, his Eastern knowledge, his unwearied industry, and who have read his excellent account of the Seiks, will naturally expect from him a work which, with Sir John Chardin, will complete our knowledge of Persia. His judgement in the choice of assistants, and their routes in the eastern provinces of that monarchy, have laid open a country hitherto almost wholly unknown. Some part of the information conveyed in Mr Knaneir's valuable memoir and important map, coincides with that furnished by Mr Elphinstone. As they conducted their inquiries respecting the same places about the same time, and afterwards communicated with each other frankly and liberally, it would not be always easy, nor is it very important, in every case, to decide to which of the two missions a geographical discovery is to be ascribed. The true geography of the vast and celebrated region, extending from the Tigris to the Indus, and from the Oxus or Jaxartes to the Indian Ocean, is undoubtedly due to the joint labours of both.

Mr Elphinstone being indisputably at the head of the Company's civil service, in political talent and knowledge, was chosen for the untrodden ground of Caubul. The preparations for his mission were, he tells us, made at Delhi, with that parade and display which are calculated to dazzle the barbaric fancy of an Eastern Court. In the preface to the tragedy of *Aurengzebe*, Dryden, if we remember right, apologizes for exhibiting on the tragic theatre, the events of his own time, by the just and ingenious observation, that distant, and especially unknown and almost inaccessible places, produce on the imagination the same effect with ancient times; and that the story of *Aurengzebe's* family at Agra and Delhi was as remote from the minds of English spectators, as the fate of *Cæsar* seventeen centuries before. Delhi has now been for ten years an English town; and it is justice to moderate conquest, and well-administered absolute power, to add, that in that time its ruinous houses have been rebuilt, and its desert streets have begun to be inhabited; and that though the Mogul has not been restored, he is at least in a condition of affluence and dignity, instead of being, like his wretched predecessor under the Mahratta tyranny, a prisoner in barbarous durance. From this capital, the mission began its journey on the 13th of October, 1808. Its track is marked on the excellent map which accompanies the work. 'From Delhi to Canound, a distance of one hundred miles, is through the British dominions, and need not be described.' This omission, and others of the like nature, we cannot quite approve,

To omit perfectly familiar scenes, and to begin where new information commences, is an excellent general rule in books of travels. But the greater part of the British dominions in Asia are very little known to the general reader, for whom books are published. The territories recently acquired in Hindustan are more interesting than Caubul, and almost as little known. An account of the present state, and recent revolutions of the city of Delhi; of our late conquests in the neighbourhood, and of the Rajpoot Princes and country, would have formed a suitable opening of the book; as it might have been closed by a fuller description of the Punjab, of the city of Lahor, of Umritsir, of the political state of the Sikhs, and of the probable line of Alexander's march through that country, which Mr Elphinstone is probably better qualified to illustrate than any other individual. This last subject (if not all the others) we should still recommend to his attention. The narrative of Arrian is so minute, that it is evidently rather transcribed than abridged, from the accounts of Alexander's staff-officers, drawn up on the spot. The features of the country are peculiar, and, we presume, unchanged. Mr Elphinstone alone is equally familiar with the narration and the country; and if he should think it too small for separate publication, it would be a fit contribution towards those learned collections in India, which, by the return of Mr Colebrooke to England, have lost their firmest support, and their brightest ornament.

Canoud exhibited the first specimen of the Desert. Near that place, the mission met ' sand-hills, which at first were covered with bushes, but afterwards were naked piles of sand, ' rising one after another, like the waves of the sea, and marked on the surface by the wind like drifted snow.' There are roads hardened by the tread of animals; but ' off the road, ' our horses sunk into the sand above the knees ' Through this desert, sometimes sprinkled with miserable dwellings, and interrupted by cultivation on the banks of the great rivers, the mission proceeded by Bikaneer, Bahawalpoor, and Moulthan, to the Ferry of the Indus at Kaheree, for a distance, which seems to be more than five hundred miles.

Of this Desert, and of the men who border or dwell in it, Mr Elphinstone presents us with the following striking sketches.

' The Shekhawuttee country seems to lose its title to be included in the Desert, when compared with the two hundred and eighty miles between its western frontier and Bahawalpoor; and, even of this, only the last hundred miles is absolutely destitute of inhabitants, water, or vegetation. Our journey from the Shekhawut frontier to Pooggul, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles, was over hills and valleys of loose and heavy sand. The hills were ex-

actly like those which are sometimes formed by the wind on the sea shore, but far exceeding them in their height, which was from twenty to one hundred feet. They are said to shift their positions, and to alter their shapes, according as they are affected by the wind; and in summer, the passage of many parts of the Desert is said to be rendered dangerous by the clouds of moving sand; but when I saw the hills (in winter), they seemed to have a great degree of permanence, for they bore a sort of grass, besides Phoke, and the thorny bushes of the Baubool, and the Bair, or Jujube, which altogether gave them an appearance that sometimes amounted to verdure. Among the most dismal hills of sand, one occasionally meets with a village, if such a name can be given to a few round huts of straw, with low walls and conical roofs, like little stocks of corn. These are surrounded by hedges of thorny branches stuck in the sand, which, as well as the houses, are so dry, that if they happened to catch fire, the village would be reduced to ashes in five minutes. These miserable abodes are surrounded by a few fields, which depend for water on the rains and dews, and which bear thin crops of the poorest kind of pulse, and of Bajra, or *Holcus Spicatus*; and this last, though it flourishes in the most sterile countries, grows here with difficulty, each stalk several feet from its neighbour. The wells are often three hundred feet deep, and one was three hundred and forty-five feet. With this enormous depth, some were only three feet in diameter; the water is always brackish, unwholesome, and so scanty, that two bullocks working for a night, easily emptied a well. The water was poured into reservoirs lined with clay, which our party drank dry in an instant after its arrival. These wells are all lined with masonry. The natives have a way of covering them with boards, heaped with sand, that effectually conceals them from an enemy. In the midst of so arid a country, the water-melon, the most juicy of fruits, is found in profusion. It is really a subject of wonder to see melons three or four feet in circumference, growing from a stalk as slender as that of the common melon, in the dry sand of the desert. They are sown, and perhaps require some cultivation; but they are scattered about to all appearance as if they grew wild.

‘ The common inhabitants are Jauts. The upper classes are Rathore Rajpoots. The former are little, black, and ill-looking, and bear strong appearances of poverty and wretchedness. The latter are stout and handsome, with hooked noses, and Jewish features. They are haughty in their manners, very indolent, and almost continually drunk with opium.

‘ The stock consists of bullocks and camels, which last are kept in numerous herds, and are used to carry loads, to ride on, and even to plough. Of the wild animals, the desert rat deserves to be mentioned for its numbers, though not for its size; the innumerable holes made by these animals where the ground is solid enough to admit of it, are indeed a serious inconvenience to a horseman, whom

they distress even more than the heavy sand. It is more like a squirrel than a rat, has a tuft at the end of its tail, and is often seen sitting upright, with its fore-feet crossed like a kangaroo. It is not unlike the jerboa, but is much less, and uses all its feet. It is not peculiar to the desert, being found in most sandy places on the west of the Jumna. Antelopes are found in some parts, as is the goorkhur, or wild ass, so well depicted in the book of Job. This animal is sometimes found alone, but oftener in herds. It resembles a mule rather than an ass, but is of the colour of the latter. It is remarkable for its shyness, and still more for its speed; at a kind of shuffling trot peculiar to itself, it will leave the fleetest horses behind. The foxes may also be mentioned; they are less than our fox, but somewhat larger than the common one of India; their backs are of the same brownish colour with the latter; but in one part of the desert, their legs and belly up to a certain height, are black, and in another, white. The line between those colours and the brown is so distinctly marked, that the one kind seems as if it had been wading up to the belly in ink, and the other in white-wash.

‘ The rest of the desert for about one hundred miles from Poogul to Bahawulpore, was a flat of hard clay, which sounded under our horses’ feet like a board. In some places small hills were formed by sand apparently blown over the clay; on these were some bushes of Phoke, and some little plants of wild rue, and of a kind called Laura, which bears a strong resemblance to everlasting, and which is said to yield abundance of alkali when burnt. The clay was destitute of all vegetation; and in this tract, excepting the fort and pool of Moujgur, and two wells about sixteen miles from Bahawulpore, there is neither water nor inhabitants to be found; yet, as we travelled from the first on the road adopted by all caravans, it may be presumed that we saw the most habitable portion of the whole.

‘ It is obvious, that a desert, such as I have described, could not be passed without preparation; camels had accordingly been hired at Canound to carry water and provisions, which completed the number of our camels to six hundred, besides twelve or thirteen elephants. Our water was carried in leathern bags, made of the skins of sheep, besides some much larger ones, made of the hides of oxen, and twenty four large copper vessels, two of which were a load for a camel. These were made for the Hindoo Sepoys, and proved the best contrivance, as the skins gave a great deal of trouble, and spilled much water after all. In providing water for the animals, we took no account of the camels, that creature bearing thirst for a period which is almost incredible.

‘ The women who had accompanied the mission were sent back from Chooroo with a guard, and many of our servants were allowed to return by the same opportunity; but this did not secure us the services of the remainder; for such was their dread of the desert, that men of all descriptions deserted by twenties and thirties till we

were so far advanced as to render their return impossible. As there was a war in Bikaner, and as the road was at all times exposed to the depredations of the Bhuttees and other plunderers, we engaged one hundred horse and fifty foot in the Shekhawuttee, to assist our regular escort in protecting our long line of baggage.

All these arrangements being completed, we marched from Chooron on the 30th of October. We marched in the night, as we had done since we entered the Shekhawuttee; we generally began to load by two or three in the afternoon. but it was long before we were able to proceed; and the head of our line never reached the encamping ground till twelve or one. On many occasions we were much later; and once or twice it was broad day before we arrived at our stage. The marches were seldom very long. The longest was twenty-six miles, and the shortest fifteen; but the fatigue which our people suffered bore no proportion to the distance. Our line, when in the closest order, was two miles long. The path by which we travelled wound much to avoid the sand hills. It was too narrow to allow of two camels going abreast; and, if an animal stepped to one side, it sunk in the sand as in snow; so that the least obstruction towards the head of the line stoppt the whole; nor could the head move on if the rear was detained, lest that division, being separated from the guides, might lose its way among the sand hills. To prevent this, a signal was passed along the line by beat of drum, when any circumstance occasioned a stoppage in the rear; and a trumpet, sounded from time to time at the head of the line, kept all informed of the direction in which the column was proceeding. The heavy sand made marching so fatiguing that we were obliged to allow camels for half the infantry Sepoys, that they might ride by turns, two on a camel; we had, besides, cajawas (or large panniers on camels), for the sick. The annoyance of the march was greatly increased by the incredible number of a sort of small burs, which stuck to every thing that touched them, and occasioned great uneasiness. They are however useful, inasmuch as they form a favourite food for horses, and the seed is eaten even by men. The want of water, and the quality of that which we met with, was also a great hardship to our men and followers; and, though the abundance of water melons afforded occasional relief to their thirst, its effect on their health was by no means salutary. Such were the combined effects of fatigue, bad water, and the excessive use of water melons, that a great proportion of the natives who accompanied us became afflicted with a low fever, accompanied by a dysentery; and to such a degree did this extend, that thirty Sepoys, without reckoning followers, were taken ill in the course of one day at Nuttoosir; and forty persons of all descriptions expired during the first week of our halt at Bikaner. The great difference between the temperature of the days and nights no doubt contributed to this mortality. Even the English gentlemen used to suffer from cold during the night marches, and were happy to kindle a large fire a.

soon as we reached our ground ; yet the sun became powerful so early in the morning, that we always woke with a feverish heat which lasted till sunset. The Europeans, however, did not suffer any serious illness. Some instances of violent inflammation in the eyelids were the only disorders of which we had to complain.

Our march to Bikaner was attended with few adventures. Parties of plunderers were twice seen, but did not attack our baggage. Some of the people also lost their way, and were missing for a day or two ; during which time they were in danger of being lost in the uninhabited parts of the desert, and were fired on by all the villages which they approached in hopes of getting guides or directions for their journey.

At last, on the 5th of November, in the midst of a tract of more than ordinary desolation, we discovered the walls and towers of Bikaner, which presented the appearance of a great and magnificent city in the midst of a wilderness. Even after we reached our ground, there were disputes in camp whether it or Delly was most extensive, but a little farther acquaintance removed this impression. The town was surrounded by a fine wall, strengthened with many round towers, and crowned with the usual Indian battlements. It contained some high houses, and some temples, one of which had a lofty spire, and at one corner was a very high and showy fort. It was distinguished by the whiteness of all the buildings, arising from the material already described at Chooroo, and by the absence of trees, which give most Indian towns the appearance of woods rather than of inhabited places. The beauty of Bikaner however was all external. On entering the gates, most of it was found to be composed of huts, with mud walls painted red. It was exceedingly populous, perhaps from the number of people who had fled to the capital in consequence of the state of the country.

Bikaner was at this time invaded by five different armies ; one of which belonging to the Raja of Joudpoor, and 15,000 strong, had arrived within a few miles of the city. Another smaller force was equally near, while the rest were endeavouring to reach the same point by different routes. A number of predatory horse had also been let loose to cut off the supplies of provisions from the surrounding countries, on which a city situated like Bikaner, must obviously depend for existence. The Raja, on the other hand, filled up all the wells within ten miles of his capital, and trusted for deliverance to the desolation which surrounded him.

This state of affairs was not very favourable for supplying the wants of the mission ; and we thought ourselves lucky in being enabled to renew our march within eleven days. During this time, military operations were carried on between the parties. The smallest of the armed bodies near Bikaner was obliged to fall back a march. A convoy from the eastward also forced its way into the town ; and another going to the enemy, was cut off by the Raja's troops. Many men were killed on this occasion, and much plun-

der was taken by the victors. Their appearance, as they passed near our camp, was well described by one of the gentlemen of the mission. In one place was seen a party driving in oxen, in another some loaded carts, here a horseman pricking on a captured camel with his long spear, and there a gun dragged slowly through the sand by fifteen or twenty bullocks. Disorderly bands of ragged soldiers were seen in all directions, most of them with plunder of some kind, and all in spirits with their victory.

‘ In the mean time, I was assailed by both parties with constant applications, the Joudpoor General urging me to come to his camp, and the Raja desiring me to take part with him. The former could only throw out hints of danger from omitting to comply with his wishes; but the Raja could at pleasure accelerate or retard the provision of our cattle and supplies; and by placing a guard over the well which had been allotted to us, he one day showed to our no small uneasiness how completely he had us in his power. The restriction however was removed on a remonstrance, and might have been occasioned by the water being required elsewhere; for while we were taking in water for our journey, we were ourselves obliged to place guards over the well, and to withhold water entirely from our camels for the two or three last days of our stay.

‘ The time of our residence was variously occupied. At first there was some novelty in observing the natives, with whom our camp was crowded like a fair. Nothing could exceed their curiosity; and when one of us appeared abroad, he was stared at like a prodigy. They wore loose clothes of white cotton or muslin, like the people of Hindoostan; but were distinguished from them by their Rajpoot features, and by their remarkable turban, which rises high over the head like a mitre, and has a cloth of some other colour wound round the bottom. Some of our party went into the town, where, although curiosity drew a mob round them, they were treated with great civility: Others rode out into the desert, but were soon wearied with the dreary and unvaried prospect it afforded; for within ten yards of the town was as waste as the wildest part of Arabia. On the northern side alone there was something like a woody valley. The most curious sight at Bikancer was a well of fine water, immediately under the fort, which is the residence of the Raja. It was three hundred feet deep, and fifteen or twenty feet in diameter. Four buckets, each drawn by a pair of oxen, worked at it at once; and, when a bucket was let down, its striking the water made a noise like a great gun.

‘ Great part of our time was taken up with the Raja’s visit, and our attendance at his palace. The Raja came to my camp, through a street, formed by his own troops and joined by one of our’s, which extended from the skirts of the camp to the tent where he was received. He was carried on men’s shoulders, in a vehicle like the body of an old-fashioned coach. He was preceded by a great many chobdars, bearing slender silver maces, with large knobs at the

top, which they waved over their heads in the air, and followed by a numerous retinue. He sat down on a musnud (a kind of throne composed of cushions), under a canopy, or rather an awning of red velvet, embroidered and laced with gold, and supported by four silver pillars, all of which he had sent out for the purpose. We conversed on various subjects for an hour. Among other topics, the Raja enquired about the age of the King, the climate of England, and the politics of the nation. He showed a knowledge of our relation to France; and one of the company asked, whether my mission was not owing to our wars with that nation. Presents were at last put before him and his courtiers, according to the Indian custom; after which he withdrew.

‘ Raja Soorut Sing is a man of a good height, and a fair complexion for an Indian. He has black whiskers and a beard (except on the middle of his chin), a long nose, and Rajpoot features: he has a good face, and a smiling countenance. He is reckoned an oppressive prince. It is strongly suspected that he poisoned his elder brother, whom he succeeded; and, it is certain, that he murdered an agent sent from the Vizier of Hindostan to the King of Caubul. Yet, as he is very strict in his devotions, and particular in the diet prescribed by his religion, his subjects allow him the character of a saint.

‘ I returned his visit on the next day but one, having been invited by his second son, who, though an infant, was sent for that purpose with a great retinue. The fort looked well, as we approached. It was a confused assemblage of towers and battlements, overtopped by houses crowded together. It is about a quarter of a mile square, surrounded with a wall thirty feet high, and a good dry ditch. The palace was a curious old building, in which, after ascending several flights of steps, we came to a court surrounded by buildings, and then had one hundred yards to go, before we reached a small stone hall, supported by pillars, where the Raja took his seat under his canopy. The court was different from any thing I had seen, those present being fairer than other Hindostanees, and marked by their Jewish features and showy turbans. The Raja and his relations had turbans of many colours, richly adorned with jewels; and the Raja sat resting his arms on a shield of steel, the bosses and rim of which were set with diamonds and rubies. After some time, the Raja proposed that we should withdraw from the heat and crowd, and conducted us into a very neat, cool, and private apartment, in a separate court; the walls were of plaster, as fine as stucco, and were ornamented in good taste; the doors were closed with curtains of China satin. When we were seated on the ground, in the Indian way, the Raja began a speech, in which he said he was a subject of the throne of Delly, that Delly was now in our hands, and he seized the opportunity of my coming, to acknowledge our sovereignty. He then called for the keys of his fort, and insisted on my taking them, which I refused, disclaiming the extended rights ascribed to us.



After a long contest, the Raja consented to keep the keys ; and when some more conversation had passed, a mob of dancing women entered, and danced and sung till we withdrew.

‘ We at last marched from Bikaner on the night of the 16th of November. The country we passed on the two first nights, was like that already described ; and our people were so fatigued after the second march, that we intended to have halted a day to refresh them, when the Dewaun of the Raja of Bikaner acquainted us with some movements of a certain partizan, and of some of the predatory tribes of the desert, which induced us to move in the day instead of the night, to enable us the better to protect our baggage.

‘ In consequence of this change, the generale beat at two o’clock in the morning (November 19th) ; but it was day-light before our water and all our other loads were prepared, and it was dark before we reached our ground at Pooggul, after a march of twenty-four miles. The whole was wavy sand hills, some of them of an astonishing height. Our people were in great distress for water during the whole day. At Pooggul, however, we found abundance of good water for sale. It was rain-water preserved in small reservoirs, vaulted over with brick and mortar. There was well-water also, which was brackish, but not noxious. The wells were not more than half as deep as those of Bikaner.

‘ We halted on the 20th of November, to take in water, and I had a good opportunity of examining the place. If I could present to my reader the fore ground of high sand hills, the village of straw huts, the clay walls of the little fort going to ruins, as the ground which supported them was blown away by the wind, and the sea of sand without a sign of vegetation, which formed the rest of the prospect, he probably would feel, as I did, a sort of wonder at the people who could reside in so dismal a wilderness, and of horror at the life to which they seemed to be condemned.’ *Introd.* p. 5—15.

This is perhaps the only desert where scanty subsistence, with the profit of conveying merchandize, and of pursuing game and booty, have not given habits of migratory life to the population ; a circumstance which is the more remarkable, because not only the grain dealers \* who supply camps, but many other low castes, are *nomadic* in the midst of settled inhabitants, and in some of the most anciently cultivated countries of India.”

The principal Rajpoot princes are, the Rauah of Oudipoor the most noble of Hindu princes, the rajahs of Joudpore and Jyepoor, whose considerable territories, since the peace of 1805, have been the theatre to which the exactions and contests of Sindia and of Holkar’s successors have been chiefly confined ; to which may be added the two desert rajahs of Jesselmer and of Bikaner, the most western chiefs of the religion of Brahma.

But there are many petty principalities of their race; and they form the bulk of the population throughout the whole of a belt which stretches irregularly from the gulph of Cutch to the north-eastern frontier of Oude.

They had all acknowledged the authority of the Moguls; but their chiefs had been vassals rather than subjects of the Crown of Delhi. Those of Guzurat, and especially of Cutch, seem most to have preserved their independence; and in the long struggles to maintain it, to have contracted, or perhaps retained, a darker shade of barbarism, manifested in many usages of singular atrocity which the late laudable attempts of the British government have not yet extirpated. The Rajpoots are in some respects the most important part of the population of India. They are the representatives of Hinduism. In them are seen all the characteristic qualities of the Hindu race, unmitigated by foreign mixture, exerted with their original energy, and displayed in the strongest light. They exhibit the genuine form of a Hindu community, formed of the most discordant materials, and combining the most extraordinary contrasts of moral nature; unconquerable adherence to native opinions and usages, with servile submission to any foreign yoke; an unbelieving priesthood, ready to suffer martyrdom for the most petty observance of their professed faith; a superstition, which inspires the resolution to inflict or to suffer the most atrocious barbarities, without cultivating any natural sentiment or enforcing any social duty; all the stages in the progress of society brought together in one nation, from some abject castes more brutal than the savages of New Zealand, to the polish of manners and refinement of character conspicuous in the upper ranks; attachment to kindred and to home, with no friendship, and no love of country; good temper, and gentle disposition, little active cruelty except when stimulated by superstition; but little sensibility, little compassion, scarcely any disposition to relieve suffering, or to resist wrong done to themselves or others; timidity, with its natural attendants, falsehood and meanness, in the ordinary relations of human life, joined with a capability of being excited to courage in the field, to military enthusiasm, to heroic self-devotion; abstemiousness in some respects more rigorous than that of a western hermit in a life of intoxication—austerities and self-tortures almost incredible, practised by those who otherwise wallow in gross sensuality; childish levity; barefaced falsehood; no faith, no constancy, no shame, no belief in the existence of justice.

After having caught a glimpse of this extraordinary people, hitherto not so much known in Europe as they ought, the mis-

sion met, at Bahawalpore, the first nominal vassal of Caubul Bahawal Khaun, a chief of not unpleasing character. After him they found a weaker chief at Moultoun, more full of distrust and apprehension. Indeed, there is no doubt that the approach of an English mission must have spread general alarm. Runjeet Sing very naturally dreaded a good understanding between his eastern and western neighbours. The chiefs of Lein Moultoun and Sind apprehended that the object of the mission was to obtain a cession of their provinces. In fact, Runjeet Sing refused a passage to the mission through his dominions, though he suffered them to return by that road; and it is generally known, that the king of Caubul would gladly have purchased the support of the English against his internal enemies, by a cession of the important Post of Attook, and by a surrender of his almost nominal supremacy over Moultoun or Sind. The next specimen of Mr Elphinstone's powers of description with which we shall present our readers, is his account of the singular scenery at Calla-baugh on the Indus.

' Calla-baugh, where we left the plain, well deserves a minute description. The Indus is here compressed by mountains into a deep channel, only three hundred and fifty yards broad. The mountains on each side have an abrupt descent into the river, and a road is cut along their base, for upwards of two miles. It had been widened for us, but was still so narrow, and the rock over it so steep, that no camel with a bulky load could pass: to obviate this inconvenience, twenty-eight boats had been prepared, to convey our largest packages up the river. The first part of this pass is actually overhung by the town of Calla-baugh, which is built in a singular manner upon the face of the hill, every street rising above its neighbour, and, I imagine, only accessible by means of the flat roofs of the houses below it. As we passed beneath, we perceived windows and balconies at a great height, crowded with women and children. The road beyond was cut out of solid salt, at the foot of cliffs of that mineral, in some places more than one hundred feet high above the river. The salt is hard, clear, and almost pure. It would be like crystal, were it not in some parts streaked and tinged with red. In some places, salt springs issue from the foot of the rocks, and leave the ground covered with a crust of the most brilliant whiteness. All the earth, particularly near the town, is almost blood red, and this, with the strange and beautiful spectacle of the salt rocks, and the Indus flowing in a deep and clear stream through lofty mountains, past this extraordinary town, presented such a scene of wonders, as is seldom to be witnessed. Our camp was pitched beyond the pass, in the mouth of a narrow valley, and in the dry bed of a torrent. Near it were piles of salt in large blocks (like stones at a quarry), lying ready for exportation, either to India or Khorassaun. It would have taken a week to satisfy us with the sight of Calla baugh; but it

threatened rain, and, had the torrent filled while we were there, our whole camp must have been swept into the Indus.' *Introd.* p.36,37.

On the 25th of February 1809, the mission arrived at Peshawer, the utmost point of their journey, where the King had come from his more western dominions, and where they continued till the 14th of June. With the following description of that city and its vicinity, we shall close our extracts from the account of the journey.

'The inhabitants of Peshawer are of Indian origin, but speak Push-too as well as Hindkee. There are, however, many other inhabitants of all nations; and the concourse is increased, during the King's visits to Peshawer. We had many opportunities of observing this assemblage in returning from our morning rides; and its effect was heightened by the stillness and solitude of the streets, at the early hour at which we used to set out. A little before sunrise people began to assemble at the mosques to their morning devotions. After the hour of prayer, some few appeared sweeping the streets before their doors, and some great men were to be seen going to their early attendance at Court. They were always on horseback, preceded by from ten to twelve servants on foot, who walked pretty fast, but in perfect order, and silence: nothing was heard, but the sound of their feet. But, when we returned, the streets were crowded with men of all nations and languages, in every variety of dress and appearance. The shops were all open. Dried fruits, and nuts, bread, meat, boots, shoes, saddlery, bales of cloth, hardware, ready-made clothes, and posteens, books, &c. were either displayed in tiers in front of the shops, or hung up on hooks from the roof. Amongst the handsomest shops were the fruiterers, (where apples, melons, plums, and even oranges, though these are rare at Peshawer, were mixed in piles with some of the Indian fruits); and the cook shops, where every thing was served in earthen dishes, painted and glazed, so as to look like china. In the streets were people crying greens, curds, &c.; and men, carrying water in leathern bags at their backs, and announcing their commodity by beating on a brazen cup, in which they give a draught to a passenger for a trifling piece of money. With these were mixed, people of the town in white turbans, some in large white or dark blue frocks, and others in sheep-skin cloaks; Persians, and Afghans, in brown woollen tunics, or flowing mantles, and caps of black sheep-skin or coloured silk; Khyberees, with the straw sandals, and the wild dress and air of their mountains; Hindoos, uniting the peculiar features and manners of their own nation, to the long beard, and the dress of the country; and Hazarehs, not more remarkable for their conical caps of skin, with the wool, appearing like a fringe round the edge, and for their broad faces, and little eyes, than for their want of the beard, which is the ornament of every other face in the city. Among these, might be discovered a few women, with long white veils that reached their feet, and some

of the King's retinue in the grotesque caps and fantastic habits which mark the class to which each belongs. Sometimes a troop of armed horsemen passed; and their appearance was announced by the clatter of their horses' hoofs on the pavement, and by the jingling of their bridles. Sometimes, when the king was going out, the streets were choked with horse and foot, and dromedaries bearing swivels, and large waving red and green flags; and, at all times, loaded dromedaries, or heavy Bactrian camels, covered with shaggy hair, made their way slowly through the streets; and mules, fastened together in circles of eight or ten, were seen off the road, going round and round to cool them after their labour, while their keepers were indulging at an eating house, or enjoying a smoke of a hired cullecaun in the street. Amidst all this throng, we generally passed without any notice, except a *sakum alaikum* from a passenger, accompanied by a bow, with the hands crossed in front, or an application from a beggar, who would call out for relief from the *Terungee Khauns*; admonish us that life was short, and the benefit of charity immortal; or remind us, that what was little to us was a great deal to him.

'It sometimes happened that we were descried by a boy from a window; and his shout of *Ooph Terungee* would bring all the women and children in the house to stare at us till we were out of sight.

'The roads in the country were seldom very full of people, though they were sometimes enlivened by a groupe of horsemen going out to forage, and listening to a *Pushtoo* or *Persian* song, which was shouted by one of their companions. It was common in the country to meet a man of the lower order with a hawk on his fist, and a pointer at his heels; and we frequently saw fowlers catching quails among the wheat, after the harvest was far enough advanced. A net was fastened at one corner of the field; two men held each an end of a rope stretched across the opposite corner, and dragged it forward, so as to shake all the wheat, and drive the quails before it into the net, which was dropped as soon as they entered. The numbers caught in this manner are almost incredible.

'Nothing could exceed the civility of the country people. We were often invited into gardens, and we were welcomed in every village by almost every man that saw us. They frequently entreated the gentlemen of the embassy to allow them the honour of being their hosts; and, sometimes, would lay hold of their bridles, and not permit them to pass till they had promised to breakfast with them on some future day, and even confirmed the promise, by putting their hands between theirs.' *Introd.* p. 56—58.

The largest part of the volume is not the narrative of travels; the journey having been limited, by the confusions of the country, to *Peshawer*, which is at no great distance from the *Indian frontier*. Mr *Elphinstone* collected, during his residence in that city, and on his return to *India*, the great body of information

respecting Afghanistan, which he has been thus obliged to throw into the less attractive form of a systematic account, and to divest of the interest and amusement which belongs to the narrative of a traveller. The main part of his work, therefore, is a treatise on the country which he visited—M. Volney's admirable book on Syria and Egypt; to the extraordinary merit of which, Mr Elphinstone adds a new testimony of great value. 'Among many other merits,' says Mr Elphinstone, 'M. Volney possesses, in a remarkable degree, the merit of pointing out what is peculiar in the manners and institutions of the East, by comparing and contrasting them with those of Europe: So far does he excel all other writers in this respect, that if one wishes thoroughly to understand other travellers in Mahomedan countries, it is necessary to have read Volney first.' But though the systematic fullness and method with which information is conveyed, be an indisputable advantage of that mode of writing chosen by M. Volney, and imposed upon Mr Elphinstone by his situation, yet the reader must regret the absence of the picturesque and dramatic qualities of narrative, which, combined with the greatest accuracy and extent of knowledge, render Bernier the first of travellers, and which, without these substantial merits, bestow a powerful interest on the romantic adventures and relations of Bruce.

It must be owned indeed, that if Mr Elphinstone had travelled more, his rank and station, while they enlarged his command of information, would necessarily have deprived his narrative of some of those claims on interest which belong to more humble travellers. He and his attendants had so much eastern knowledge, that they could enter no country absolutely unknown. No region which they visited was to their imagination surrounded by the dignity of mystery and darkness. They had little to apprehend from privation, from the depredations of banditti, from the exactions of the government, or from the hostile and insolent prejudices of the populace. They were too well guarded for danger; and if it had occurred, the austere modesty of Mr Elphinstone would have disdained any aid from a source of interest which has bestowed great power of amusement on the relations of travelling adventurers, to whom the effect of their work was more important than the dignity of their character. In one respect, indeed, the physicians and jewellers of the seventeenth century had an advantage, not only in point of amusement, but even of information, over the Residents and Envoys of the nineteenth. Their humble situation brought them into more immediate contact with the body of the people. They travelled lower, and saw more closely. Of the history, geography, and political state

of a country, perhaps of its science and literature, they had not the means of knowing so much; but of its manners and character, probably more, at least if the time of residence be supposed to be equal. But this advantage is more than compensated, in the English Residents in India, by circumstances of decisive superiority over the ancient travellers, by knowledge of languages, by long residence, by security during their researches, and by a command of information respecting the countries which they have not visited. The old travellers had but slight means of knowing whatever they did not see. The English in India, (as appears in this volume), by a very industrious collection, and a very critical collation of native intelligence—may learn and teach a great deal about those parts of Asia which they cannot see. No body of men seem to unite so many advantages as missionaries. They must (if they are in earnest) know languages, and live with the people. They generally go to India with the intention of passing their lives in that country. They have, at least in their present state, leisure, means, and often previous education, which qualify them for becoming oriental scholars. And as extreme discretion, and long caution, are necessary to soften the animosities, and to allay the apprehensions which the project of extending their mission, has excited; so they have scarcely any other means of recommending themselves to the public, and of conciliating those who may have no great respect for their plan, than the attainment of eminence in pursuits which are universally allowed to be useful and practicable. By prudence, indeed, they must cease to be alarming; but it is only by distinction in science and literature, that they can become the objects of respect to that considerable majority of the inhabitants of British India, who, from very natural prejudices, overrate the dangers of their mission, and perhaps magnify even the difficulty of their success.

The style of Mr Elphinstone is, in our opinion, very good. It is clear, precise, significant, manly, often nervous, always perfectly unaffected, severely guarded against every tendency to oriental inflation, and quite exempt from that verbosity and expansion which are the sins that most easily beset our ingenious countrymen in the East. This tendency they perhaps derive chiefly from the otherwise useful practice, of giving a written account of all that they do, which sometimes seems to oblige them to write a good deal when they have very little to say. We say, the style of Mr Elphinstone; for it is evidently his own; it bears the stamp of his character. We see from the Preface, that he has the good fortune to escape, or rather the good sense to avoid, those literary manufacturers, who, not

content with the correction of mere inaccuracies, (a service which a man of the greatest talent may receive, without derogation, from a friend who happens to be a more practised writer), often sacrifice the spirit and originality of the intelligent traveller's diction to their own dull monotony, and sometimes obtrude their own extravagant paradoxes, and even malignant prejudices on the public, under the sanction of his name. \* Every reader will see, that the writer of this book is a man of enlarged views, and masculine understanding, whose principal object is to tell what he has seen or thought, as clearly and briefly as he can—carrying, perhaps almost to excess, that ‘aversion to display,’ for which he justly commends one of his deceased friends. The care with which he warns the public against overvaluing his information, is singular and exemplary. He tells us, that he knows Sanscrit only from Mahratta Pundits, and that he knows Oriental Historians chiefly from European Translations. The last, which is pure accident, and even the first, might have been omitted without the imputation of false pretensions. But the European public, without a positive disavowal, would have given credit to a person in his situation for the knowledge; and, with a spirit directly the reverse of the vulgar vanity not always irreconcilable with high talents, he

---

\* ‘In preparing the *African Travels* for the Press, Mr Brown, from an unreasonable distrust of his own powers, had thought it right to have recourse to literary assistance; but was by no means fortunate in his compiler.’ See some account of the late *Smithson Tennant, Esq.* late Professor of Chemistry in the University of Cambridge. p. 31.

The small work, which we have just quoted, is perhaps, strictly speaking, scarcely published.

It should be prefixed to Mr Tennant's *Scientific Essays*, and preserved as a model of literary panegyric, where discriminating and elegant commendation is chastened by modesty, and where the effect of friendship is promoted, by subduing the fervour of its expression. The academical eulogiums of the French, however much they sometimes degenerated into exaggeration and rhetoric, still form a series of compositions important to biography, and conducive to the dignity which ought to belong to the professional cultivation of science and literature. The custom might be adopted in England, with the hope of attaining its benefits, and avoiding its dangers. Our shy and sullen character is a sufficient security against the prevalence of hyperbolical panegyric. The account of Mr Tennant is, in our opinion, an excellent pattern of such discourses, which, both in tone and extent, might hold a middle place between biography and funeral praise, if indeed this last ought not to be banished together with invective from the territory of literature.



not only makes no false pretensions, but labours to reject false credit. The degree in which a writer's testimony is strengthened by such an example of literary integrity, is so great, that the example might be recommended to the herd of authors, on principles of mere policy, instead of their old and detected arts.

In the account of Caubul, the part which relates to physical science, is the least perfect. The geography ranks higher; but the government, laws and manners, are the most important of all.

Among his coadjutors, two persons deserve particular notice—Mr Irvine and Mr Macartney. The first, a man of original and philosophical understanding, had, soon after his arrival in India, devoted his life almost exclusively to the study of that multiplicity of languages, and variety of manners, which render it scarcely hyperbolical to speak of the Indian world. He had particularly applied himself to the observation of the great diversity of character among rude tribes, and of the connexion of that diversity with their local position, and with all the natural circumstances which determined their habitual occupations. The number of mountainous tribes in the dominions of Caubul powerfully attracted his curiosity; and he had meditated the composition of a separate work on that country. But he has since enlarged his views, and has projected extensive travels, to enable him to pursue his observations. Lieutenant Macartney was the geographer of the mission; and, by his subsequent death, the British Empire has lost a man of true geographical genius. His manuscripts contain examples of sagacious conjecture respecting the elevation and depression of the Earth's surface; the distance and positions of points important to be ascertained; the course of rivers, and the direction and magnitude of mountains,—inferred from physical probabilities, and formed from comparison of the jarring itineraries of travellers generally ignorant,—which would not have disgraced D'Anville or Rennell. What has been added to geographical knowledge by this mission, will be best ascertained by a comparison of Mr Elphinstone's map with that of Major Rennell, of the countries between Delhi and Candahar, in 1792; with Mr Arrowsmith's map of Asia in 1801; or, as far as relates to mere popular knowledge of the subject, with the small outline maps of Pinkerton's Geography in 1807. Some parts of the knowledge collected by the mission of Mr Elphinstone and Sir John Malcom, have overflowed into later maps, which for that reason would not be fair standards of comparison. To mention only one circumstance.—In the latest of these maps, the *Chunarub*, formed by the confluence of three of the rivers of

the Panjaub,—and the *Sutlege*, formed by that of the remaining two, are represented as separately flowing into the Indus. The very important fact was unknown, that the five waters join and flow together under the name of *Pung-muddy* (or five streams), for near fifty miles, before the joint stream joins its waters to those of the Indus.

Until these recent accessions to our knowledge, all the eastern provinces of Persia, the dominions of the Alghauns, the territory occupied by Uzbek States, called in Europe Independent Tartary, and the whole ridge of the Snowy Mountains, with their inter-spersed valleys, from which the greatest rivers of Asia flow into the Caspian, the Frozen Ocean, the Yellow Sea, and the Indian Ocean, were involved in a confusion little better than utter darkness. From the Tigris to the Indus, the clearest light has succeeded. In that vast country there remain very few important positions which can be disputed. The historical application of that portion of our new acquisitions to the campaigns of Alexander, will be very curious and amusing. The last discussions of these campaigns, by M. de l'Hoix, (*Examen des Historiens d'Alexandre*), and by the learned Maunert, (*Geographie der Griechen und Römer*), sufficiently show, that beyond the neighbourhood of the Caspian, modern materials were wanting. We now however know, with considerable accuracy, the region described with almost topographical exactness by the most learned as well as the most sublime of poets.

‘ From Arachosia, from Cindaor east,  
And Margiana, to the Hyrcanian cliffs  
Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales;  
From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains  
Of Adiabene, Media, and the south  
Of Susiana to Balsara's Haven.’

From the Paropamisus to the Araxes, the country of the Uzbecks is far less completely explored. The southern provinces, and especially the important State of Bokhara, are best known. Towards the north and north-east, the light becomes fainter. The Russians, whatever may be their motive, seem on this subject to have deviated from those maxims of liberality which their government pursues almost to affectation, in every matter connected with the advancement of knowledge. They have told us little, though they must know much. It is not quite improbable that they may have restrained their liberality and love of publicity, from a determination to make the threat, if not the accomplishment of an invasion of India, a part of every future quarrel with Great Britain. That such a determination has become an established maxim of policy at St Peterburgh, is

very little dissembled in that capital, even during the paroxysm of friendship under which Kings and Emperors at present labour. Honest *Jonas Hanway*, in his excellent account of Persia, gives us some particulars of an attempt to establish a trade with the Uzbek country, in the year 1721, by two English factors; one of whom escaped from Khceva across the Jaxartes to Orenburgh and St Petersburg; and the other accomplished a very perilous journey on his return from Bokhara to Mescheet in Khorassan. These are the only Englishmen who have visited that country since the days of old Antony Jenkinson. Much geographical discovery still remains in it. The lower course, and the issue of the two great rivers Jaxartes and Oxus, are common matters of doubt. It is well known that this country was one of the objects of the journey of Mr Brown, the African traveller, a man of talents far superior to his book, and whose murder, on the frontiers of Persia, may be considered as a public loss. An European traveller, especially an Englishman, who is desirous of visiting any country in eastern Asia, ought in general to establish his head quarters in the British territories in India. He will there have an opportunity of studying any language which his destination may render it necessary for him to acquire. He will familiarize himself with those manners and opinions which generally distinguish Asiatics from Europeans. He cannot fail in procuring some previous information respecting the country which he wishes to visit; and he can rarely find any difficulty in meeting with some natives of it, who, being generally commercial travellers, are probably among the more intelligent of their countrymen. Among the English he will find some few extremely well informed, and possessed of much eastern knowledge; which, from the modesty or indolence, or broken health of some of them, is often finally lost to the public. Intelligent young officers, equally useful as guides, and agreeable as companions, would not be unwilling to accompany him. The Indian part of our Eastern government, in its higher parts, is guided by a liberal spirit; and it is but justice to add, that a traveller would experience from all the English residents in that country all the kindness and assistance which can be expected from the most generous and hospitable body of men probably in the world.

Influenced, partly, by these considerations, and by the facility of transporting his philosophical apparatus by sea, we learn with pleasure, that Mr Humboldt, the most accurately instructed, and variously accomplished traveller, of this, or perhaps of any age; who unites the science of a philosopher with the spirit and constancy, the patience of fatigue, and the contempt of dan-

ger of an adventurous soldier,—has relinquished his project of entering through Persia into Central Asia; and now proposes to direct his course for the first place, whence, as a central point, he may proceed to those countries which are the principal object of his great design. The reputation of M. de Humboldt would be a sufficient claim on all the aid which India could afford, even if the intimate connexion of the British and Prussian governments had not ensured it. The great object of his visit is the central region of mountains and snow, which supplies waters to every region of Asia east of the *Tigris* and the *Yaik*; like the Alps in Europe, though on a scale more gigantic, and approaching, if not surpassing, in elevation, the loftiest summits of the Andes.\* Some of the outskirts have lately been examined. A native, employed by Mr Morcroft, has made a journey over districts hitherto totally unexplored, of which Mr Elphinstone has favoured us with a short account. We impatiently expect a fuller narrative of this extraordinary journey. It appears to confirm, or at least to countenance, Mr Macartney's conjectures respecting the source of the Indus. That of the Ganges has been ascertained by Captain Webb and Mr Roper, who, agreeably to the previous reasonings of Mr Colebrooke, have cut off several hundred miles from the imaginary course assigned to that river in Braminical geography. The Nepaulese war will afford an unfortunate opportunity of approaching the basis of the Himmaleh mountains; and few remarkable wars or embassies have arisen in India, of which the English officers have not availed themselves for the promotion of knowledge. The far greater part of this Alpine region is however yet untrodden by European feet; and it will be a memorable triumph of human science and courage, if the same great

\* The highest Peak of Himmaleh, visible from Patna, was estimated by Col. Crawford as twenty thousand feet above the plain of Nepaul, which he reckons to be five thousand above the level of the sea. L. Pinkerton's *Geograph.* 817. No full or direct account of this observation has hitherto reached us. A measurement by Mr Macartney, stated with the caution characteristic of him and of this work, gives twenty thousand four hundred and ninety-three feet to one Peak. It is constantly covered with snow, when the thermometer at Peshawer, in the valley below, is at 112. This circumstance, however, would occur in that latitude at a considerably less elevation. The inferior limit of perpetual snow, in lat. 34, seems to be about 11,000 feet. Erzerum, in Armenia, by the measurement of Mr Brown, in his last Journey, appears to be 7000 feet above the level of the sea; an elevation nearly equal to that of Mexico, and probably superior to that of any other great town, except Quito.

traveller, who reached almost the summit of the Andes, should be also destined to explore the only body of mountains which can rival them, and to look on the masses of eternal ice whence the Ganges and the Indus issue.

The most valuable portion of the present volume, is that which Mr Elphinstone could owe least to any assistant. It is that which relates to government and manners, which, in the distribution of the labours of the mission, was reserved for himself. The general feature in Afghaunistan, which most strikes the observer, is, that while they are surrounded by enslaved nations, and while even the hardy and martial Uzbeks of the north are subject to absolute power, the Afghaun tribes enjoy a turbulent independence, which, if not entitled to the name of liberty, is more tolerable than servitude. The theory of their general government is, like that of Mussulmann, perhaps of all Asiatic monarchies, purely despotic,—with no law but the ambiguous and flexible text of the Koran, and no check on power, but the fear of deposition and assassination. All Mahometan empires are what a great European empire was once called, Monarchies tempered by Regicide. But, in Afghaunistan, this supreme government is only the head of a loose confederacy of clans, each led, rather than governed, by their chiefs;—all forming part of the army in war, but yielding an uncertain and fluctuating obedience in ordinary times.

The constitution of Afghaun society is so curious, as to justify an abridgement of Mr Elphinstone's excellent description. It has so many features, in common with the ancient state of the Teutonic nations of Europe, that the picture might be suspected of being at least infeasibly coloured by the fancy of a theorist, if a closer examination did not discover numerous peculiarities which characterize all real objects, and form the indubitable marks of a copy from nature. It may be added, that every statement of this volume is guaranteed by the stern exactness, and almost excessive repugnance to exaggeration, which must be felt by every reader to be among its characteristic qualities.

The division of the Afghauns into clans, is referred to a genealogy probably altogether imaginary, certainly a mere legend as far as they claim descent from the Jews; a fable disproved by the decisive evidence of a radically dissimilar language, and wholly unworthy of the countenance which it received from the favourable reception of Sir William Jones. These clans were probably associated by the necessities of defence; and their boundaries and names were fixed by the glens which they first inhabited. A clan is called an *Oolooss*. The chief is called a

*Khaun*. He is generally named by the king, sometimes by the people, from the oldest family of the tribe, with some regard to primogeniture, and still more to age, experience and character. Disputes for the succession often proceed to the utmost violence. The assemblies of the *Oolooss*, and of its principal divisions, are called *Jeergas*. The *Khaun* holds his own *jeerga*, formed of the chiefs of the principal branches. Each of these holds his *jeerga* of the heads of division. This order is preserved down to the lowest subdivision; and though, in matters of small importance, or on a sudden emergency, the chief may decide, the general constitution is, to ascertain the sentiments of the whole tribe, before a decision;—agreeably to the famous description of Tacitus, ‘*De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes.*’ This constitution varies somewhat in almost every tribe. Like all these rude systems of independence, it generally fluctuates between absolute power in the *Khaun*, and absolute independence in the individuals; though the last be the more frequent degeneracy. Royal favour, undisputed title, great wealth, and personal character and a dispersed people, favour the power of the chiefs. Distance from the capital, hostility to the court, the claims of a pretender, and a local situation which produces frequent assemblies of the clan, contribute to increase the importance of the people.

As the chiefs are not hereditary, the clannish attachment of the Afghans is more to the community than to the chief, whom they consider rather as a magistrate than as a natural superior. He scarcely ever possesses the power of life and death. Their general law is the *Koraun*; but their internal administration of criminal justice is regulated by the *Pooshtoonxullee*, a rude system of common or customary law, of which the first principle is, that all crimes are considered as injuries only to the individuals who suffer by them; and that the object of the lawgiver is either to procure a compensation for the injury, or to regulate the right of revenge in the person wronged, or in his family or tribe. It is deemed not only lawful, but honourable, to seek redress from private vengeance. The same principle, indeed, necessarily prevails wherever the law cannot afford satisfaction; and therefore continues to be applicable to a number of objects, (though constantly decreasing with the progress of laws, and still more of mild manners), in the best regulated communities. In many tribes, the *Oolooss* only attempts to mediate between litigants, and to persuade them to acquiesce in the national award. In others, the public authority has grown into greater maturity, and is employed to enforce the decision. In some they have advanced so far, as to levy a fine for the State, as

well as a compensation to the party aggrieved. All criminal trials are conducted before a *Jeerga*, composed of Khauns, Mulliks or Elders, assisted by Moollahs (Mahometan lawyers) and even by some grave and experienced persons of inferior rank. Their deliberations are opened by prayers, and afterwards by the repetition of a Pushtoo verse, importing 'that events are with God, but deliberation is allowed to man.' As most crimes are acts of violence, done in prosecution of the avowed right of revenge, the fact is seldom denied. The question before the *Jeerga* generally relates to its lawfulness. They conduct themselves in most cases with tolerable impartiality, and in some tribes are remarkable for order and gravity, and for a rude eloquence, much admired by their countrymen. Among the compensations awarded, one of the most usual in serious cases, consists in a certain number of young women; as, for example, for a murder, twelve young women, six with portions and six without. The usual portion among the common people is seven pounds ten shillings. For cutting off a hand, an ear or a nose, six women—for breaking a tooth, three women—for a wound above the forehead, one. The price of the women is fixed in money, which the person wronged may take if he prefers it. They seem to be selected as the most valuable species of marketable property.

The present reigning family is that of the Khaun of the Door-auney tribe, the greatest, bravest, and most civilized in the nation. He is besides the head of all the confederated republics; and in that character imposes the contributions, and fixes the contingents of each tribe in war. In peace he exercises an undefined superintendence over the whole; but his power is considerable only in the plains near town, in the foreign dependencies, and in the countries exclusively inhabited by *Taujiks*, a race of unwarlike cultivators, whose language is Persian, who are spread over Persia, Afghaunistaun and Bokhara, and whom Mr Elphinstone supposes to be the descendants of the first Mahometan conquerors, now reduced to subjection in their turn by the indigenous Afghauns. The king, the courtiers and the court lawyers consider the royal authority as absolute; the people in the tribes treat it as very limited. The first measure it by the Khoraun, and by the practice of the neighbouring monarchies; the last by their own spirit, by the usages of their ancestors, and by the Pushtoonwullee which records and authorizes them. A contest seems perpetually to subsist, not unlike what was carried on by the Kings of England and other Gothic monarchies, seconded by civilians and divines, who ascribed to the crown all the power which the Roman law attributed to

the Emperors; and the Barons, who, though they often acquiesced in these lofty pretensions, which they scarcely understood as long as they remained in theory, yet, as often as they were attempted to be reduced to practice, roughly asserted the authority of their English usage, afterwards called common law,—and steadily maintained their own rights, until they were at last happily obliged to call in popular aid, and to maintain also the rights of the people.

We offer the following passage to our readers as a specimen of the liberal spirit in which the author examines social institutions, and of the vigorous good sense which does not allow him to amuse himself by long indulgence in those prospects of improvement which are suggested by his benevolence.

‘ With the exception of the republican government of the Ooloos-ses, the situation of the Afghaun country appears to me to bear a strong resemblance to that of Scotland in ancient times. The direct power of the King over the towns and the country immediately around; the precarious submission of the nearest clans, and the independence of the remote ones; the inordinate power and faction of the nobility most connected with the court; and the relations borne by all the great lords to the crown, resemble each other so closely in the two states, that it will throw light on the character of the Dooraunee government to keep the parallel in view.

‘ The defects of this system are obvious; and when we come to observe in detail the anarchy and disorder which so often arise under the republican government of the tribes, we might be induced to underrate the quantum of happiness it produces, and to suppose that the country would derive more advantage from the good order and tranquillity which an absolute monarchy, even on Asiatic principles, would secure: But the more I have learned of the actual state of the Afghauns, the stronger is my conviction that such an estimate would be erroneous.

‘ We may easily appreciate the benefits of an exemption from the vexatious interference of the officers of a distant King, and from the corruption and oppression with which such interference is always accompanied in Asia: Nor must we, amidst the alarms and confusion which will be forced on our attention, overlook the partiality of the Afghauns for their present constitution; the occupation and interest; the sense of independence and personal consequence which result from a popular government, however rudely formed; and the courage, the intelligence, and the elevation of character which those occupations, and that independence can never fail to inspire.\*

---

\* ‘ The Afghauns themselves exult in the free spirit of their institutions. Those who are little under the royal authority, are proud of their independence, which those under the King (though not exposed to the tyranny common in every other country in the East)



‘ Another incalculable advantage of the present system is, that although it encourages *little* disorders, it affords an effectual security against the general revolutions and calamities to which despotic countries in Asia are so frequently subject. In Persia or India, the passions of a bad King are felt through every part of his dominions; and the civil wars, which occur almost as often as a King dies, never fail to throw the kingdom into a state of misery and disorder: Part of the inhabitants are exposed to the license and cruelty of the contending armies; and the rest suffers, nearly in an equal degree, from the anarchy that follows a dissolution of the government which has hitherto maintained the public tranquillity. The consequence is, that a tyrant, or a disputed succession, reduces the nation to a state of weakness and decay, from which it cannot wholly be retrieved, before its recovery is checked by the recurrence of a similar calamity. In Afghani-staun, on the contrary, the internal government of the tribes answers its end so well, that the utmost disorders of the royal government never derange its operations, nor disturb the lives of the people. A number of organized and high-spirited republics are ready to defend their rugged country against a tyrant; and are able to defy the feeble efforts of a party in a civil war. Accordingly, if we compare the condition of the two kingdoms, we find Persia in a state of decay, after twenty years of entire tranquillity; while Afghani-staun continues the progressive improvement which it has kept up during twelve years of civil warfare. New aqueducts are constantly made, and new lands brought into cultivation: The towns, and the country round them, indeed, as well as that on the great roads, are declining; but the cause is obvious, in their being immediately exposed to the power of the competitors for the crown, and to the pilage of their armies.

‘ But even if we admit the inferiority of the Afghan institutions to those of the more vigorous governments of other Asiatic countries, we cannot but be struck with the vast superiority of the materials they afford for the construction of a national constitution. The other nations are better adapted to a bad than to a good government. They can all be brought to contribute their whole force to the support of a despotism, within the time that is required to overrun their territory;

admire, and vain would imitate. They all endeavour to maintain, that “all Afghans are equal;” which, though it is not, nor ever was true, still shows their notions and their wishes. I once strongly urged to a very intelligent old man of the tribe of Meeankhail, the superiority of a quiet and secure life, under a powerful monarch, to the discord, the alarms, and the blood, which they owed to their present system. The old man replied with great warmth, and thus concluded an indignant harangue against arbitrary power—“We are content with discord, we are content with alarms, we are content with blood; but we will never be content with a master.”

and ages must pass away, before the slaves of India or China could be made capable of taking a share in the government of their country; but if a King, of sufficient genius to form the design of cordially uniting his subjects, should spring up among the Afghauns, he would necessarily fall on a beautiful form of government, as the only one by which he could possibly accomplish his design. An ordinary monarch might endeavour to reduce the tribes to obedience by force; but one Afghaun King \* has already had the penetration to discover that it would require a less exertion to conquer all the neighbouring kingdoms, than to subdue his own countrymen. A monarch such as I have supposed, would therefore be obliged (as the King is at present †) to concert his measures with the hereditary Khauns; and the necessity of consulting the interests of the whole, would induce them to carry on their debates in a general assembly: Such an arrangement would be congenial to the habits of their internal government, and conformable to the practice which the King now observes with the Dooraunee Sirdars; and it would form a council of the nobility, connected both with the King and the people, though more immediately with the King. In most Oolcooses, the Khauns can levy no taxes, and can take no public measures, without the consent of the *elected* Mulliks, who are obliged, in their turn, to obtain the consent of their divisions. The King might try to strengthen the Khauns; and by their means to draw a supply from a reluctant people; but unless he began with greater means than the Kings have yet possessed, his attempt would probably be attended with as little success; and if he wished for general and cordial aid, it must be procured by adherence to the present system, and by obtaining the consent of the nation. Thus the Khauns would be sent, as they now are, to persuade their tribes to contribute to the general revenue. They would find the people's ignorance of the national exigencies, a bar to their granting any addition to the established supplies; and it surely would not be an unnatural expedient to prevail on them to depute one or two of the wisest of their Mulliks, to ascertain at the court the real state of the public affairs. An elective assembly would thus be formed, of which every individual would be closely connected with his constituents, and would be regarded by them as their natural and hereditary head; they would represent a people accustomed to respect their chiefs, but as much accustomed to debate on, and to approve or reject, the measures which those chiefs proposed. The militia of the tribes would constitute an army which would be invincible by a foreign invader, while the King would be without any force that could offer a moment's resistance to a general combination of his subjects.

VOL. XXV. NO. 50.

E e

\* 'Ahmed Shaub.'

† 'No measure was determined on in Shaub Shuja's time, without a council of the Dooraunee lords.'

‘ The slightest alteration would form a combination between the Jeergas and the Cauzees appointed by the King, which would be admirably adapted to the administration of justice ; and a government would thus be established, as well suited as any that can be imagined for promoting the greatness and happiness of the nation.

‘ Such are the pleasing reveries to which we are led by a consideration of the materials of which the Afghaun government is composed ; but a very little reflection must convince us, that these speculations are never likely to be realized. The example of neighbouring despotisms, and the notions already imbibed by the court of Caubul, preclude the hope of our ever seeing a King capable of forming the design ; and there is reason to fear that the societies into which the nation is divided, possess within themselves a principle of repulsion and disunion, too strong to be overcome, except by such a force as, while it united the whole into one solid body, would crush and obliterate the features of every one of the parts.’ \* p. 173—178.

After all, the whole error of Mr Elphinstone’s benevolent reveries perhaps consisted in contemplating the possibility of too sudden a change in so great a mass ;—the change of an Asiatic government into an European, and, still more, to the best of European, within any period to which the foresight of man reaches, is indeed evidently a chimerical speculation. It is like the great revolutions of the globe, which have, in past times, wholly altered its condition. In the course of innumerable ages, the sea may have more than once changed its bed, and the waters may have covered all that is now dry land. But these prodigious changes, if they were sudden, must have been effected by agents which involved all living nature in destruction, and which, far from being capable of being wielded, were too mighty events to be checked by the whole force of man. If they were, on the other hand, gradual, they must have required a length of time, and a series of operations, far beyond the utmost limits of our foresight, and consequently of our controul. But, though the power of controuling the violent revolutions, or of guiding the gradual mutations of the earth, does not belong to human beings, it does not follow, that they may not be most usefully provident and active in erecting barriers against inundation, and in reclaiming unproductive and pestilential marshes. The Del-

\* ‘ There are traces in the village government of India, of the existence of a system resembling that of the Afghaun Oeloosses : The remains of it, which have survived a long course of oppression, still afford some relief from the disorders of the government, and supply the solution of a difficulty, which must be experienced by all travellers in the centre of India, respecting the flourishing state of parts of the country, from which all government appears to be withdrawn.’

ta of Egypt, perhaps, required the agency of nature, during many ages, for its production. The Bedford level, and the dykes of Holland, were produced by human industry, within a moderate time. As long as the political reformer confines his efforts to the removal of a grievous evil, and to improvement so near that he can clearly see every step of his road to the object, he must not be deterred from it by the disappointment of hopes, and the defeat of plans, which fail only because they are not founded on the principles of wise reformation. A total and sudden destruction of the frame of an Asiatic community; or an attempt to convert the parts of its government into European institutions, are certainly chimerical; and, if they could ever be favourite chimeras of the powerful, would be beyond measure pernicious. But it does not follow, that it is not virtuous and wise, and indeed a positive duty, in all those who are placed in authority over these miserable communities, anxiously and incessantly to labour for the mitigation of some of the more horrible evils by which they are at once oppressed and corrupted.

The object which the reformer (only another name for the lawgiver) must frequently and practically contemplate, is a reformation a little better than the actual state of things. He may sometimes animate his zeal, or sooth his disappointments, by anticipations of greater and more distant good: But his proper sphere is that to which the fullest light of reason and experience spreads, where every step is distinctly visible, and where the effects of the change are almost as certain as those of the established institution. The horizon of the philosopher is as wide as the sphere of probability; because, in philosophical speculation, the evil of an erroneous conclusion is inconsiderable. It is, on the whole, not an useful habit too frequently to indulge in contemplations of schemes of remote and magnificent melioration, not so much because it may endanger the order of society—a rare evil which requires a very peculiar state of human affairs to produce it—as because the mind returns from such visionary excursions, with a disposition to despise the safe though humble pursuit of attainable good, or, perhaps, to despond in political reformation, and altogether to despair of the improvement of mankind; dispositions the most unhappy for the individual, and the most pernicious to the species which can pervade the heart of an enlightened man.

The English who reside long in India, must, generally speaking, either be familiarized to arbitrary power by the exercise of it, and by never seeing any other sort of government; or they must contract a stronger repugnance than is felt even by the inhabitants of free countries, to that scourge of human society.

They are often in danger of being reconciled to it by their own humanity in its exercise ; and habit disposes many of them to consider it as inseparable from government, and to regard an exemption from despotism as a state of anarchy. But men of independent character and vigorous understanding, like Mr Elphinstone, learn to appreciate its evils more correctly from long experience of its operation, and to trace the degradation and corruption of the larger part of the human race solely to its pestilential power. It is a most honourable distinction to keep alive the spirit of liberty in the exercise of absolute power, and to preserve the ancient opinions and character of Englishmen in the midst of an enslaved world.

The system of cautious reformation is far from prescribing bounds to improvements. As every step of advance is attended with a correspondent enlargement of prospect, all real reformation must show the way to farther reformation. Each separate step is indeed short ; but the line to be traversed has no necessary limits ; and the greatest distance is best secured, by confining the eye and the mind to the immediate stage to be first reached. Necessity may sometimes compel a rapid advance on little known ground ; and obstacles, otherwise insurmountable, must occasionally be abated by force. But these are exceptions from that slow and even course by which man is in general destined to go on towards civilization. Even the unreformed independence of the Afghauns exhibits the important example of a nation, in many remarkable particulars superior to those more civilized neighbours who have exchanged independence for despotism. This independence must not indeed be mistaken for liberty. In a state of independence, men are neither restrained nor protected by laws. In a state of civil liberty, they are equally restrained by laws, as far as that equal restraint is absolutely necessary to protect them equally from wrong. Under despotism, they are imperfectly and unequally secured against each other's violence, in order to be abandoned to all the injustice of their tyrant, and of all the subordinate tyrants to whom he must delegate his power. In the most lawless state of independence, the energy of the human character is exercised, a sense of personal dignity is formed, manly spirit is acquired,—courage and talent are necessary to existence. If the end of man were merely to vegetate in quiet, without any of these qualities of mind and heart ; and if despotism could ever long be so vigorously and impartially administered as to retain a monopoly of injustice for itself, and prevent the slaves from injuring each other, we might hesitate between the opposite conditions of turbulent independence and undisturbed lethargy. But the destiny of men is not to avoid

annoyance, but to attain happiness, and to exercise reason and virtue; and despotic power has a constant tendency to relaxation, which always in practice blends the evils of anarchy with those of tyranny. It is better, then, according to the just conclusion of the author before us, to be a savage, though he commits many crimes, than to be a slave who can possess no virtues. 'The Afghauns,' says he, 'have fewer vices, and are less voluptuous and debauched, than any people of Asia whom I know.' They have warm attachments of kindred. Their slaves are few, and mildly treated. They are frank and open. They show curiosity respecting European art, and that reasonable wonder at what is beyond their own attainment which excites imitation, and which other Asiatics are either too dull to feel, or too proud to own. Perhaps, however, the most important effect of independence is discoverable in the relations of the two sexes. In all other countries of the East, marriage, or at least betrothment, is solemnized in childhood, sometimes almost in infancy. It is a connexion always formed before the age of choice. Thus the possibility of affection, or even preference, having any influence on marriage, is banished from the imagination of every human being. The whole of that train of feelings, and system of manners, which arise from preference and exclusive pursuit, are excluded. This extraordinary phenomenon probably arises from the slavery of women, which renders their consent superfluous, and to the practice of polygamy among the rich, the natural consequence of the slavery of women. But though wives be bought among the Afghauns, yet their general principles of independence lead them to ascribe a will to women, and consequently to defer marriage till that will can be exerted. From this single circumstance, a vast train of consequences follows, which spread themselves over the whole face of society. The influence of the rudest liberty, in certainly, though remotely, producing pure morals, is visible; and illustrates, by contrast with the neighbouring countries, the irresistible operation of slavery in begetting dissolute manners. The rudiments of a refined gallantry appear. Courtship softens the men, and exalts the women. Marriages of attachment—in every country the smaller number—lend their dignity to the institution in general, and hide the meanness of connexions arising from more ignoble motives. The last result of this great deviation from the system of Asiatic life appears in their poetry and fiction,—those important representatives of the feelings and manners of nations.

'I am not sure that there is any people in the East, except the Afghauns, where I have seen any trace of the sentiment of love, according to our ideas of the passion. Here it is very prevalent. Besides the numerous elopements, the dangers of which are encoun-

tered for love, it is common for a man to plight his faith to a particular girl, and then set off to a remote town, or even to India, to acquire the wealth that is necessary to obtain her from her friends. I saw a young man at Poona, who was in this predicament. He had fallen in love with the daughter of a Mullik, who returned his attachment. The father consented to the marriage; but said his daughter's honour required that she should bring as large a fortune as the other women of her family. The two lovers were much afflicted, as the young man had nothing but some land and a few bullocks. At last, he resolved to set off to India. His mistress gave him a needle, used for putting antimony on the eyelids, as a pledge of her affection; and he seemed to have no doubt that she would remain single till his return. These amours are generally confined to the country people, where great ease and leisure are favourable to such sentiments, particularly when combined with the partial seclusion of the women, (which renders them sufficiently inaccessible to excite interest, while they are seen enough to be admired.) They are sometimes found even among the higher orders, where they are less to be expected. It was a love affair between the chief of the Turcolaunes and the wife of the Khaun of a division of the Eusofzyes, that gave rise to the war between the Ooloosses, which lasts to this day.

Many of the Afghaun songs and tales relate to love; and most of them speak of that passion in the most glowing and romantic language. A favourite poem, which tells the story of Audam and Doorkhaunee, is known to most men in the nation, and is read, repeated, and sung through all parts of the country. Audam was the handsomest and bravest young man of his tribe, and Doorkhaunee the most beautiful and most amiable of the virgins; but a feud between their families long prevented their meeting. At last an accidental rencounter took place, which ended in a mutual and violent passion. The quarrels of the families, however, still kept the lovers separate, and perhaps in ignorance of each other's sentiments, till Doorkhaunee was compelled by her relations to marry a neighbouring chief. The affliction of her lover may be imagined, and his lamentations; and the letters that passed between him and Doorkhaunee, fill a large part of the poem; till at last, after overcoming numberless obstacles, Audam succeeded in prevailing on his mistress to see him. They had several meetings; but Doorkhaunee still preserved her purity, and rejected alike the importunities of her lover and her husband.

Audam's visits did not long escape the husband, who was filled with jealousy and desire of vengeance. He took the opportunity of his rival's next visit to waylay him, at the head of several of his own relations; and though his attack was bravely repelled, and his opponent escaped with a desperate wound, he resolved to try if Audam's suit was favoured, by observing the effect of a report of his death on Doorkhaunee.

‘ Doorkhaunee’s only pleasure, during the long intervals of her lover’s visits, was to retire to a garden, and to cultivate two flowers, one of which she named after herself, and the other after the object of her affection. On the day of the ambuscade, she was watching her flowers, when she observed that of Audam languish from sympathy with his recent misfortune; and, before she recovered from her surprise, she was accosted by her husband, who approached her with a drawn sword, and boasted that it was wet with the blood of Audam. This trial was fatal to Doorkhaunee, who sunk to the ground, overwhelmed with grief and horror, and expired on the spot. The news was brought to Audam, who lay wounded near the scene of the ambuscade; and, no sooner had he heard it, than he called on his mistress’s name, and breathed his last. They were buried at a distance from each other; but their love prevailed even in death, and their bodies were found to have met in one grave. Two trees sprung from their remains, and mingled their branches over the tomb.

‘ Most people will be struck with the resemblance of this story, and particularly of the conclusion, to many European tales.’

It is not a little remarkable, that the same respect for women was combined with a similar spirit of independence among the Germanic nations; the only tribes who, in a state almost savage, showed courtesy and deference towards the weaker sex, and perhaps the only uncultivated conquerors, who did not purchase the improvements of civilized life at the expense of their independent spirit.

But we must forbear to enlarge upon topics which strongly tempt us to discussion; and reluctantly take our leave of this most valuable work, with one remark addressed to our countrymen in India. When they travel out of the British dominions, they often favour us with excellent accounts of the countries which they visit. But they are not so liberal in giving us information about the countries which they inhabit. This is not unnatural. What is strange to them, whatever excites their own curiosity, must seem to them likely to interest the public. They do not so naturally see, that what is familiar to them is unknown to the majority of the inhabitants of Europe. It is rather a reproach, that, even before the noble work of M. Humboldt, it might have been said that British India was known in less detail to the European public than Spanish America. Topography seems to be interesting, only when it relates to a new country, or when it is connected with the antient times of our own country. Wonder or national pride are the usual incentives to topographical works. The English in India are too familiar with that country to feel much wonder in most parts of it; and are too transiently connected with it to take a national interest in its



minute description. To these obstacles must be opposed, both a sense of duty and a prospect of reputation. The servants of the Company would qualify themselves for the performance of their public duties, by collecting the most minute accounts of the districts which they administer. The publication of such accounts must often distinguish the individuals, and always do credit to the meritorious Body of which they are a part. Even the most diffident magistrate or collector might enlarge or correct the articles relating to his district and neighbourhood in the lately published Gazetteer of India; and by the communication of such materials, the very laudable and valuable Essay of Mr Hamilton might, in successive editions, grow into a complete system of Indian topography. The Travels of Dr Francis Buchanan contain the materials of an excellent work. He deserves great commendation for the rational direction of his curiosity, and for his courageous avowal of contempt for the legends, and abhorrence for the morality of the Braminical system. Those who have travelled over considerable provinces of the Peninsula with his book in their hand, will bear witness to his general accuracy. As an example of their defective information, we may mention the very country where Mr Elphinstone now resides, which may be generally termed the North-western Deccan. It is the original seat, and now the chief dominion of the Mahrattahs, who, in their present form, are indeed a very recent state, but who are a Hindoo people of immemorial antiquity. In this country, almost exclusively, are to be found the monuments of that system of subterraneous architecture, which still continue to excite the admiration as well as astonishment of travellers. At Keneri, at Elephanta, at Carli, and above all, at Ellora, (to say nothing of inferior caves), temples, and probably dwellings for the attendant priests, have been hollowed out of rocks, with a toil, magnitude and magnificence, which class them among the most stupendous and wonderful of the works of man. What increases the wonder with which these works are contemplated is, that their authors could not have been driven to the construction of these extraordinary temples, by any physical necessity, or allured to it by any superior convenience; and that their regularity and elegance are much too great to leave any doubt that all other sorts of architecture were perfectly understood, and usually practised, at the period of their excavation. In lately perusing the MS. Journal of one of the most accomplished visitants of India, we were struck with regret and surprise that in Daniel's Prints and Sir C. Mallett's mensurations, the public have no description of the region of wonders which lies within a few miles of the Godavery;

the remains of Aurungzebe's magnificence at Aurungzabad, the unparalleled fort of Dowlutabad, and the excavations of Ellora, which dispute with the pyramids the first place among those works which are undertaken to display power, and to embody feeling, without being subservient to any purpose of utility. Surely Mr Elphinstone might usefully amuse his leisure in tracing the history, and describing the present state of this curious and little known, though very accessible country.

Even the modern history of the Mahrattahs abounds with interesting scenes. In the judicious collections of Orme, and still more in the original and picturesque narrative of old Dr Fryer, we catch many glimpses of the character of Sevajec, who, like another Pelayo at the head of his Highlanders, braved the Mahometan power in its zenith, and delivered from the yoke of very fierce conquerors, the religion and independence of his country. Many of the exploits of this celebrated adventurer remind the European reader of similar events in the history of the middle age. His predatory expeditions against the commercial city of Surat, were very lately brought to our recollection by the perusal of the animated description of the attack of the Republic of Naples by Roju Guiscard, which we owe to the first of living historians. \*

---

The second publication, of which the title is prefixed to this article, is formed from the notes of Joseph Rousseau, French Consul at Bagdad, by the learned M. Silvestre de Sacy. The materials are too slight to form a valuable work, even under his hand. The object of Rousseau was to attract the attention of the French government towards the factory at Bagdad, as a station of considerable importance to their correspondence with Persia; to projects of commerce in the Persian Gulf, and to their designs against India. Many of the observations relating to that subject are deserving of attention. If ever France should recover her place among nations, she will, under every government, direct her attention towards India, of which the value to Great Britain is extravagantly magnified in that and in every other country of the Continent. Russia, from whom alone any

\* Sismondi *Republiques Italiennes*, vol. i.:—the only great work published at Paris during the first reign of Napoleon, in which it is impossible to discover under the power of what sovereign it was composed, unless indeed it may be traced in those more than usually strong and frequent invectives against despotism and conquest, which arise from the natural workings of humanity disturbed, and the love of liberty exasperated, by the subjection of Europe to a conqueror.

danger to India can be at present dreaded, has peculiar means of creating an influence in the Pachalic of Bagdad, where the government is in the hands of soldiers from Georgia, now a province of the Russian empire. The account of the Wahabis, which follows M. Rousseau's description of the Pachalic, is the work of M. Corancez, long French Consul at Aleppo. It is not without merit; and some strokes of the manners of the Arabs of the Desert are well represented. But the history of the probably short-lived power of these formidable sectaries still remains to be written, and will form a remarkable episode in the ecclesiastical and civil annals of the Mahometan world. The account of *Yezidis*, or worshippers of the Devil in Mesopotamia, by *Padre Garzoni*, a missionary in Kurdistan, is meagre. It is, however, the only modern account of the sect; and a curious specimen of the eccentric opinions of a country, in every age prone to fanaticism, and fertile in all the varieties of the most fantastic theology. From this, as well as from other accounts, \* it appears that *Curdish*, which is the language of these singular religionists, is a rude and barbarous dialect of Persian.

The memoir of Mr Rich is not introduced here for any purpose of rivalry with the elaborate work of Mr Elphinstone. Neither the extent, nor the subject, nor the opportunities of information, allow any such comparison.

His own pretensions are indeed sufficiently modest. ' This memoir is viewed by the author, as only the first fruits of imperfect research. It may perhaps be considered with the more indulgence, as it is believed that it is the only account of these memorable ruins hitherto laid before the public by a native of the British Islands.' The name and remains of Babylon, derive, from various sources, a great power over the imagination. They are the remains of the most ancient works of civilized men. On the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the scene of universal history opens; and, with the first dawn of historic light, we perceive in that region powerful monarchies already established, great capitals built, and those monuments of the earliest art constructed, of which the remains continue to attest the magnitude and splendour. China, it is true, and India, have also a great claim to antiquity. But these countries, which Sir William Temple called ' the great outlying monarchies,' have no connexion, or no discoverable connexion,

\* J. Adelung's *Mithridates*, 297; where the learned writer hazards the bold conjecture, that the Curds or Curdutchians were a Persian colony, planted in their present mountainous country by Cyrus, after his conquest of Assyria.

with our European history. Their story, therefore, is no part of our Universal history. But the annals of the modern world are joined by an unbroken series of causes and effects, reaching back, through Rome and Greece, and Syria and Egypt, to the historical remains of the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies. With them, too, are closely connected some of the most memorable events in the history of our religion. The records of the human race do not present a contrast more striking, than that between the primeval magnificence of Babylon and its long desolation; and there are few reflections more interesting, than that, in the solitary spot now covered by vast heaps of undistinguished rubbish, the first astronomical observations were made thirty, if not \* forty, centuries ago, at a time when the site of London had probably been untrodden by any human foot. It was not without reason that Major Rennell thought that 'the delineation and description of the site and remains would prove one of the most curious pieces that has been exhibited in these times.' (*Rennell's Geogr. Herod.* p. 388.)

Mr Rich's Memoir is only the first essay towards such a work as Major Rennell has thus encouraged intelligent travellers to undertake. It is a modest and perspicuous account of what he saw during a short visit, in several passages not without descriptive merit, and creditably distinguished by abstinence from fruitless inquiry and rash conjecture, and in which the classi-

---

\* The date of the astronomical observations, of which an account was transmitted by Callisthenes to Aristotle. It is true, that this great antiquity rests on the testimony of Simplicius alone; but M. Montucla considers the commencement of a series of astronomical observations at Babylon, as certainly fixed at least a thousand years before the Christian era. It is singular, that the Babylonians should have illustrated the dimensions of the earth, by estimating, that a man, who walked constantly a league an hour, would make the tour of the globe in a year, which gives a diameter not very distant from the true. *Cassini*, seemingly without knowing the Babylonian estimate, calculated, that a man who walked a league an hour for 12 hours of each day, would circumambulate the globe in two years. This curious fact is to be found only in *Achilles Tatius*, a weak writer of the third century; but his very weakness renders it unlikely that he should have invented it:—no authority is known more recent than the Chaldeans, from which he could have borrowed it; and it must be owned, that somewhat more fragments of oriental knowledge have stolen into the Greek writers of the Eastern provinces, upon the mixture of nations after the Christian era, than are to be found in that flourishing period of Grecian literature, when it was proudly national, and cultivated with a contemptuous exclusion of the learning of every other people.

cal and oriental learning of the author is as much proved, by the careful exclusion of false pretensions and impertinent display, as by the natural fruits of solid knowledge. Like Mr Elphinstone, he ensures the confidence of the judicious part of the public in his future statements, by the cautious and scrupulous fairness, with which he never fails to lay open the sources and the limits of his information. With his respectable talents and attainments, and with the contempt for imposture, and repugnance to ostentation, which characterize this Essay, he has only to proceed with industry in the course which he has honourably begun. His residence, though with few enjoyments for the individual, is fortunately situated for the gratification of public curiosity. He is surrounded by objects of physical, historical, and literary interest. The first is undoubtedly the complete examination and description of the remains of Babylon. The traces of the canals, which united the two rivers, more perhaps for purposes of irrigation than for those of internal traffic, are a curious subject of observation. As the irrigation is neglected, the Desert resumes the territories which had in ancient times been conquered from it by human industry. It is a sort of antipode to the western frontier of the United States of America, where cultivation advances far more rapidly, than Turkish tyranny can contract it.

The great epic poem, or rather romance, of the ancient Arabs, is not yet made known to Europe, even by such an abridgement as D'Olsson made of the *Shahnamah* in his useful *Tableau de l'Orient*. The *Yezidis*, mentioned before, are perhaps the most singular sect in the world. They appear to worship only an evil principle. But the horror naturally felt, not only by the missionaries, but by neighbours and travellers, against these perverted and ferocious sectaries, may perhaps have kept out of view some of those softenings, with which the universal feelings of human nature usually mitigate the harshest systems of dogmatical theology, and render their doctrines more consistent with humanity, though perhaps less consistent with each other.

The singular sect called the Christians of St John, who have their chief seat at Bussora, are known with little exactness. No situation could be more favourable than Bagdad, for a history of the rise, progress, and perhaps of the downfall of the Wahabis, who, in their abhorrence of Polytheism and outward symbols of devotion, as well as in the barbarity of their laws of war, seem to restore the primitive ages of Mahometanism. All the traces of ancient languages spoken in the mountainous countries to the north, may lead to curious results. As Mr Rich, we understand, has traversed Asia Minor several times, in various

directions, some of which had been little if at all known to Europeans, an account of the Pachalic of Bagdad, including all such original information respecting Turkish Asia, as he can communicate, would be an excellent employment of his leisure, and could not fail to be a very acceptable present to the public.

---

Meritorious publications by servants of the East India Company have, in our opinion, peculiar claims to liberal commendation. The price which Great Britain pays to the inhabitants of India for her dominion, is the security that their government shall be administered by a class of respectable men. In fact they are governed by a greater proportion of sensible and honest men, than could fall to their lot under the government of their own or of any other nation. Without this superiority, and the securities which exist for its continuance, in the condition of the persons, in their now excellent education, in their general respect for the public opinion of a free country, in the protection afforded, and the restraint imposed by the press and by Parliament, all regulations for the administration of India would be nugatory, and the wisest system of laws would be no more than waste paper. The means of executing the laws, are in the character of the administrators. To keep that character pure, they must be taught to respect themselves; and they ought to feel, that, distant as they are, they will be applauded and protected by their country, when they deserve commendation or require defence. Their public is remote, and ought to make some compensation for distance by promptitude and zeal. The principal object for which the East India Company exists in the newly modified system, is to provide a safe body of electors to Indian offices. Both in the original appointments, and in subsequent preferment, it was thought that there was no medium between preserving their power, or transferring the patronage to the crown. Upon the whole, it cannot be denied that they are tolerably well adapted to perform these functions. They are sufficiently numerous and connected with the more respectable classes of the community, to exempt their patronage from the direct influence of the Crown, and to spread their choice so widely as to afford a reasonable probability of sufficient personal merit. Much, perhaps enough, has been done by legal regulations, to guard preferment from great abuse. Perhaps, indeed, the spirit of activity and emulation may have been weakened by precautions against the operation of personal favour. But this is, no doubt, the safe error. It is not of course our intention to discuss so large a subject in this place. We shall conclude, with one observation—The East India Company, and indeed

any branch of the Indian Administration in Europe, can do little directly for India. They are far too distant for much direct administration. The great duty which they have to perform; is to controul their servants and to punish delinquency in deed; but, as the chief principle of their administration, to guard the privileges of these servants, to maintain their dignity, to encourage their merits, to animate those principles of self-respect and honourable ambition, which are the true securities of honest and effectual service to the public. In every government, the character of the subordinate officers is of great moment. But the privileges, the character and the importance of the civil and military establishments, are in the last result the only conceivable security for the preservation and good government of India.

---

ART. VIII. *Exposé de la Conduite Politique de M. le Lieutenant-General CARNÔT, depuis le 1er Juillet 1814.* 2nde Edition. Paris. Courcier. 1815.

IT is not our intention, in the present article, to discuss the momentous questions of general policy, connected with the distinguished individual whose name appears in this title-page. We purpose to confine our remarks to that which concerns him personally; and they are offered, by way of supplement, to a former article upon his celebrated Memorial, addressed to Louis XVIII. If he had continued in the high station to which he was called during the last summer, we should not have deemed a recurrence to the subject so necessary. But, when men have fallen from power because of their principles, and when, even in the recesses of that obscurity which they prefer to a splendid apostasy, they are still exposed to persecution, it becomes the lovers of liberty to second their demands of justice, though, for the moment, the clamours of the multitude should be found in unison with the sycophancy of courtiers to refuse it. For the rest, we believe it would puzzle the most ingenious and most suspicious of mankind to descry any other motive than the love of justice, which could induce persons, at the present time, to undertake General Carnôt's defence, more especially persons who have all along professed so widely to differ in opinion with him upon fundamental points.

Finding himself the *only one* of Buonaparte's late cabinet ministers, who is proscribed by the decree of the 24th of July, he here inquires into the grounds of this strange exception. It cannot be, he contends, that the others were playing a double game before the second abdication, and serving their country in appearance, while they were secretly in league with its

enemies. Besides that such an imputation would be rejected by them with indignation, he asserts, as a fact within his own knowledge (and all that we have seen appears to confirm it), that whatever difference of opinion may have prevailed among them as to the means, their whole conduct was zealously pointed to one object, the defence of their common country. To the rest of those ministers, he appeals with respect to his own services; and placed, as they all now are, in situations of safety, some of them in high authority, one of them at the publication of the tract in the highest station under government, he challenges them to say what duty he omitted in that arduous crisis, which preceded the battle, and followed the abdication. He even calls upon the Allies to deny, that their united efforts were as successful as circumstances would permit, in saving the effusion of blood, and securing the safety of the capital.

Was it, then, the General asks, because of his former pamphlet, that the distinction was made? No other motive has ever been assigned for it; and yet a more absurd one cannot be imagined. For, not to mention the universal contempt in which the Royalist party studiously held it, the question, whether he had authorized, or even permitted the publication, had been solemnly decided in the negative by a judicial investigation last year. After Buonaparte's return, however, it was republished, and industriously circulated, with various mutilations and additions. Of these the General was entirely ignorant; nor, as he says, was it very much in his nature, to have busied himself in such a matter, while executing the duties of the most important department of the State at the most critical moment. But as soon as he heard of the republication, he applied to the Minister of Police, in whose province it lay, to stop it; and he frequently complained to Buonaparte himself. The latter treated the affair as of no consequence; and the former avowed, that he had himself furnished funds for the publication. As far as in him lay, he had constantly checked the publication, refusing his permission to all the booksellers who applied for it, and only abstaining from proceeding legally against the publishers, because the matter belonged to the police, which had in fact taken measures against them, and let them escape.

Upon the object and motives of the Memorial itself, General Carnôt adds several interesting remarks; and the charges against the government of 1814 which he had before urged, he now repeats with his wonted firmness,—undismayed by the more severe complexion of the times, the increased power of the Crown, and the exasperated enmity of his adversaries.

‘Chacun sait qu'on marchait ouvertement à la plus violente réac-



tion ; qu'on affectait de fouler aux pieds la Charte constitutionnelle : que toutes les promesses faites par le Roi étaient éludées sans pudeur par les agens de son pouvoir ; qu'on ne s'attachait qu'à décourager les défenseurs de la patrie : que tout ce qui avait pris une part quelconque à la révolution était dévoué à la proscription, menacé dans son honneur, dans sa vie, dans ses propriétés. Ces faits sont notoires ; les personnes les plus dévouées au Gouvernement en convenaient à la tribune ; ils sont officiellement avoués aujourd'hui. On pouvait se taire sans doute ; on pouvait se laisser menacer, diffamer, sans rien dire ; mais peut-on faire un crime à celui qui réclame l'exécution des lois journellement violées à son préjudice, qui se récrie contre les infractions continuellement faites aux engagements les plus solennels ?' p. 11, 12.

Speaking of the arrival of Buonaparte, and the marvellous spectacle which his progress offered, through an unresisting, and passive population at the best, though he came almost alone, the General boldly tells the reason of such a phenomenon.

‘ Pourquoi chercher à se tromper soi-même et faire prendre encore le change au Roi, sur le véritable principe d'un événement si extraordinaire ? pourquoi s'en prendre à des causes secondaires, lorsque les premières, les vraies causes sont connues de tout le monde ? Ne sont-ce pas les atteintes continuelles portées à la Charte ; les inquiétudes jetées parmi les acquéreurs de domaines nationaux ; les menaces, les sorties sans cesse renouvelées contre tout ce qui avait pris part à la révolution ? et ne voit-on pas encore aujourd'hui renaître de nouveaux germes de troubles dans l'intérieur ? sera-ce encore un délit d'avertir les agens du pouvoir, que des causes semblables peuvent produire de semblables effets ? sera-ce manquer aux justes égards qu'on leur doit, de leur dire que ceux qui leur succédèrent n'eurent point à se faire de pareils reproches ?' p. 16, 17.

It is inconsistent with the design of this article to enlarge upon the evidence which, since the subject was last under our notice, has left the violations of the Charter, and the truth of the remarks now cited from this Tract, a matter of absolute demonstration. But we may, without stepping aside, refer the reader to the confessions extorted from the Government itself at the moment of its last dissolution—extorted, not by any external force, but by the intimate persuasion, that the only remaining chance of salvation was to be sought in a full and publick acknowledgment of what, its own conscience whispered, the people well knew to have been its errors. We allude especially to the addresses of the Chamber of Deputies to the King, by their president, M. L'Aîné, on the 10th and 17th of March, in which the faults of the administration are broadly stated, and the necessity of a change of system avowed ; and to the declaration of the 18th of March, promising that the ‘ unguarded acts’ of the ministers shall cease. We may add the King's proclamation at

Cambray, dated so late as the 28th of June, in which he admits errors to have been committed, and promises to profit by experience, and avoid the repetition of them.

That General Carnôt only desired to see the King remain faithful to his engagements, and govern according to the Constitution, seems incontestably proved, by the conference which he describes himself to have had with M. de St Roman, a staunch royalist in the King's service, to whom he now publicly appeals for the correctness of the relation. It was when Buonaparte had advanced towards Lyons, and was supposed to be near that city, that M. de St Roman waited upon him, and expressed his great personal alarm at the state of affairs, and the apparent probability of the King being forced to leave the capital. The General, who expresses much respect for this gentleman, courteously observed to him, that he believed if there were no royalists but such as he, nor any republicans but such as himself, men would not fight with one another about matters of opinion. Being pressed to state what he thought the probable result of the present crisis, and whether he saw any means of avoiding the evils which menaced the state, he answered, in a manner not very well calculated, we should think, to uphold the character of a malcontent, and plotter of mischief, or a partizan of Buonaparte, which the unthinking rabble of all ranks have, in this country, been taught to bestow upon him,—

‘ Je lui répondis que je ne connaissais pas bien l'état de choses, mais que je croyais qu'il était encore possible d'y remédier; qu'il fallait pour cela que le Roi s'empressât d'annoncer qu'il était dans la ferme résolution de maintenir désormais les Autorités dans la ligne constitutionnelle, et qu'il renvoyât les Ministres qui ne travaillaient visiblement qu'à l'en écarter; que si l'on était une fois rassuré sur les véritables intentions de M., je croyais que Bonaparte ne trouverait aucun appui en France, et que je ne doutais pas qu'il n'échouât complètement dans son entreprise.’ p. 19.

Buonaparte however arrived at Paris; and was once more Emperor of France, without a struggle. M. Carnôt solemnly asserts that he neither aided, nor even knew beforehand, of the expedition which thus marvellously succeeded in destroying a dynasty possessing, but a few days before, all the outward appearance of solidity and duration. ‘ J'affirme que, ni directement ni indirectement, je n'ai pris aucune part aux tentatives qui ont pu être faites pour le retour de Napoléon; que je n'ai entretenu aucune correspondance à ce sujet, et que je n'ai eu connaissance d'aucune correspondance entretenue par d'autres; que je n'ai assisté à aucune réunion particulière, à aucun conciliabule;’

‘ qu'enfin j'ai partagé l'étonnement universel, lorsque j'ai appris sa descente sur les côtes de France.’ (p. 17, 18.)—Laying out of view his acknowledged character for strict veracity, nothing short of madness could induce a man in his critical situation to make such assertions, if they were unfounded, in the face of so many enemies anxious to obtain a justification of their behaviour towards him, and furnished, some of them, as Fouché, from their own knowledge, with the means of exposing him. But the night after Buonaparte arrived, he sent for him, and appointed him to the home department. Does his acceptance of this office, and his discharge of its arduous duties, constitute the ground of the decree against him? Then, why were not the other ministers comprehended in it; and why, above all, was one of them, instead of being proscribed, placed at the head of affairs under the King? Buonaparte had regained his power with the unanimous concurrence of the army, and without the slightest opposition from the people. Was it incumbent on M. Carnôt to treat him as an usurper, and plot his destruction, or foment a hopeless civil war, for the restoration of princes, to preserve whom in their place not a soldier had lifted his arm, or a citizen his voice, at a moment when an unarmed individual was driving in his carriage through the country to dethrone them? But the General might at least have refused office under a man whom he had so often denounced as a tyrant: and he frankly avows the reasons which now made him cooperate with Buonaparte, as they had a year before induced him to offer his services for the defence of the frontier.

But, together with these reasons, there was another which, we confess, appears to us much less sound,—a conviction that Buonaparte had returned from Elba with views of moderation and peace! ‘ J'ai cru, et je crois encore,’ says this intrepid person, ‘ que l'Empereur étoit venu avec le desir sincere de conserver la paix et de gouverner paternellement.’ The fearlessness which prompts such an avowal, in such terms, at a moment like the present, when the cause of Buonaparte is desperate, and M. Carnôt is as it were upon his trial, may well excite astonishment. But we own, that our wonder is hardly less at the fact, of such sentiments ever having entered so acute and experienced a mind. But it was not only towards Napoleon that the General's candour appears to have misled him; he believed the Allies to be as moderate as the Emperor, and never suspected that their professions might be flung into the shade by the prospect of brilliant success. ‘ J'ai cru que les Allies ne voudroient pas rapporter de nouveau la desolation dans un pays dont le vœu étoit si fortement prononcé pour la tranquillité de l'Europe.’ — ‘ On ne doutoit pas que les puissances ne nous laissentent.

‘ comme elles l’avoient tant de fois protesté, choisir le gouvernement qui nous conviendrait, pourvu que nous demeurassions fideles aux stipulations du traite de Paris. ’

Thus we see, that there were views of a nature somewhat romantic, both respecting Buonaparte and the Allies, mingled with the solid and defensible ground upon which he took office, namely, the necessity of supporting the Government, in order to avoid one of the worst calamities that could befall his country—civil war. The ground upon which he continued to act, after he found those hopes disappointed, was the necessity of saving France from the very worst of all calamities,—foreign conquest, ending probably in dismemberment, certainly in forcing a government on the people. But romantic as we may think some of the hopes entertained at first, it is impossible to regard sentiments like the following as coming from any other than an honest and high-minded character. ‘ Oui, j’en conviens, j’ai partagé ces sentimens. Je me suis flatté de voir nos désastres finis; de pouvoir faire tourner désormais les ressources de l’Etat aux progrès de l’industrie, au soulagement de la classe indigente, au perfectionnement de l’instruction publique. J’ai joui en moi-même, dans la pensée qu’en ma qualité de Ministre de l’Intérieur, je pouvais devenir l’un des agens principaux de ces heureux changemens. ’ (p. 24.) And again, after speaking of his plain remonstrances to Buonaparte, upon the arbitrary acts he was soon betrayed into—‘ Je lui suis demeuré fidele jusqu’à son abdication; je l’ai défendu avec un zèle extrême, parce que je ne sais pas défendre autrement, et qu’en le défendant, j’ai cru défendre la Patrie; mais je n’ai point fait auprès de lui le rôle d’un flatteur, et je ne lui ai jamais rien demandé pour moi-même. ’ (p. 25.)

After all, we suspect, the hatred shown towards this eminent person is of a date considerably more ancient than his late administration, or his defence of Antwerp. The royalists and their foreign allies have never been able to forgive his signal military exploits during the war of the Revolution; and as this was a feeling not very capable of being plainly avowed, at least in France, they deemed it expedient to express it in other terms, and affected to confound him with Robespierre, as if he had been the accomplice of that monster in the reign of terror. He seems to be aware that this is the turn given to his conduct; and has thrown together a few particulars extremely interesting, as connected with the history of those awful times, and peculiarly deserving the attention of any one who would form a correct judgment upon the merits of the individual.

This charge, it should be remembered, was openly made against

him in the Convention, immediately after Robespierre's fall, by the party which that happy event had raised to the chief power : But his defence was deemed so satisfactory, that the accusation was thrown out unanimously, and abandoned by those who had brought it forward. So extraordinary a testimony to his innocence, at such a moment, ought, in all fairness of argument, to go a great way ; and, at this distance of time, it would be rash, not to say unjust in the extreme, to pronounce a contrary sentence. But let us look a little further into the merits of the case. The only matters ever alleged against M. Carnôt, are reduced to a very small number of signatures, officially given by him to decrees of the Committee of Public Safety. Upon this it is to be observed, that he confined himself wholly to the affairs of his own department, the conduct of the war ; and that, although he presided in rotation over the terrible Body to which he belonged, and as president nominally issued, that is, signed, its orders, he did so in virtue of the arrangement, that each should affix his authority to the acts of his colleagues, and that no one should interfere in another's department. Had he refused his concurrence to them, they would have refused their ratification of his military proceedings ; and in order to show how little he could, by possibility, have known of the orders signed by him, out of his own department, he informs us of the extraordinary fact, that he was, at the time, carrying on the whole correspondence with *fourteen* armies, without employing a secretary. That he worked without relaxation fifteen or sixteen hours a day, will not much surprize any one who hears of such an office. After all, situated as he then was, he had but one alternative ; either to continue in this dreadful situation, cooperating with men whom he abhorred, and lending his name to their worst deeds, while he was fain to close his eyes upon their details—or to leave the tremendous war which France was then waging for her existence, in the hands of men so utterly unfit to conduct the machine an instant, that immediate conquest in its worst shape must have been the consequence of his desertion. There may be many an honest man who would have preferred death to any place in Robespierre's Committee,—and, for ourselves, we should never have hesitated in the choice ; but it is fair to state, that, in all probability, M. Carnôt saved his country by persevering in the management of the war. It is proper likewise to add his assertion, that he saved more lives by his interference and resistance, while leagued in those unholy bonds, than Robespierre and his associates destroyed. Those who, after considering these things, retain the opinion, that nothing, not even the salvation of France, could justify such

an alliance, may be in the right: It is a safe maxim which teaches us, that there are some deeds so shocking as to mock all computation—deeds to be at all hazards shunned, what ills soever may ensue. But we protest against the ignorant clamour of persons, who, upon *ordinary* grounds, object to M. Carnôt's conduct, unacquainted with the facts, and quite unaware that his country exalted him in a transport of gratitude at the very moment of Robespierre's most just punishment. He was, notwithstanding the *reaction* (to use a modish phrase) which then took place, retained in the Committee, and returned for no fewer than fifteen different places in the ensuing election. It is well known that the two bodies of the Legislature soon after raised him to a seat in the Directory, and that his exclusion from that body two years after, was effected upon the pretext of his having shown too much favour to the Emigrants and other Royalists. In questions like the present, the testimony is not to be disregarded, which popular opinion, pronounced at the moment, and upon subjects so immediately within the knowledge, and so powerfully addressing the feelings of the publick, gives in favour of a ruler. At this distance of time, it is unsafe to appeal from so remarkable a decision, unless with the view of trying it by a standard much loftier than the people ever can apply, and admitting a principle of which they are wholly ignorant, that there are some things which a man had better see his country perish before his face, than consent to. Tried by this severe test, M. Carnôt will be found wanting: But let it be remembered, that, whoever admits the public safety to be a justification of all measures; whoever denies a man's right to sacrifice his country to his principles; whoever refuses to an individual the right, not of going down to the grave rather than part with his integrity, but of maintaining his virtue upon the ruin of the state, must, of necessity, acquit that distinguished personage. Let us not, at all events, call things by wrong names, and pronounce him guilty, without reflecting in what sense we are to use the word. Nothing is more prejudicial to the cause of virtue, than confounding together, under one appellation, objects which ought to excite the most various, and even opposite, sentiments.

For the rest, he informs us, that the whole Convention knew Robespierre, (*cet homme affreux*, as he terms him), to be 'his most mortal enemy, and, precisely, because he would not share in his fury.' 'On savait (he adds) qu'il avait promis de faire tomber ma tête aussitôt qu'on croirait n'avoir plus besoin de moi; mais il se pressa trop de demander l'acte d'accusation de ses ennemis, et se fut la sienne qui tomba, avec cel-

‘ les de Saint-Just et de Couthon, que j’avais hautement désignées depuis long-temps sous le nom de *triumvirs*. Je dirai même à cette occasion, que Saint-Just proposa un jour en ma présence, au Comité, mon expulsion, comme on avait prononcé quelque temps auparavant celle de Hérault de Séchelles, ce qui l’avait aussitôt mené à l’échafaud. Je répondis froidement à Saint Just qu’il sortirait du Comité avant moi, ainsi que tout le triumvirat, et le Comité, frappé de stupeur, garda le silence. ’ p. 32, 33.

Another circumstance equally deserving of our notice, is the total indifference which General Carnôt always showed towards the populace, and his keeping aloof from all agitators and factious persons. While they were eternally in the tribunes or at the clubs, he never spoke in the assemblies except when the discharge of his duty obliged him ; and then his discourses were of a kind too severe to flatter the follies or encourage the licentiousness of the people. As for the Parisian clubs, he never once entered the threshold of any assembly of that description. Referring to his conduct in the Legislature, he says, ‘ On a seulement pu y voir que la patrie était tout pour moi : mais on sait assez quelle est la récompense ordinaire de ceux qui se dévouent exclusivement au service de la patrie. ’ p. 33.

We close our account of this tract with the following remarkable passage at its conclusion, in which he sums up the account of the injustice he has been exposed to.

‘ Qu’il me soit permis d’arrêter un moment ici l’attention de mes lecteurs sur la bizarrerie de quelques événemens de ma vie politique.

‘ J’ai partagé avec mes collègues le bonheur de sauver Paris, et par un coup d’état je suis exilé de Paris.

‘ Je me suis chargé de la haine de Napoléon, pour m’être opposé seul à son premier avènement au trône des Français ; je suis du très-petit nombre de ceux qui n’ont jamais brûlé d’encens sur ses autels, et l’on me compte parmi ceux qui ont conspiré pour le rétablir sur le trône.

‘ Je me suis plaint au Roi des infractions que les agens de son pouvoir se permettaient de faire à la Charte constitutionnelle qu’il nous avait donnée, et l’on prétend que ces plaintes sont un outrage fait à S. M.

‘ J’ai toujours fait profession de me soumettre au gouvernement établi, et l’on me dépeint comme un factieux qui ne m’occupe qu’à marcher de révolution en révolution.

‘ Je fus le plus mortel ennemi de Robespierre, et l’on me fait passer pour son complice. Je me suis mis sur la brèche pour empêcher les réactions, et l’on me fait passer pour avoir cherché à les favoriser.

‘ J’ai passé les jours et les nuits à seconder les opérations de nos armées, et l’on me représente comme occupé, pendant ce temps, à

dresser des listes de proscription. Dans mes nombreuses missions, je n'ai jamais ordonné de mon chef, même une arrestation, et l'on fait de moi un proconsul sanguinaire.

' Je me suis constamment montré l'ennemi des conquêtes ; je ne voulais pas même, dans notre plus grande prospérité militaire, qu'on fut jusqu'à la limite du Rhin, et l'on assure que je ne respirais que guerre, invasion, bouleversement des états.

' Je n'ai jamais sollicité ni places ni faveurs ; c'est toujours malgré moi que je me suis vu appelé aux grandes fonctions publiques ; je ne suis pas plus chargé de richesses qu'au commencement de la révolution, et l'on me dépeint comme un homme avide de domination et de fortune. \*

---

\* Of his well known disinterestedness, he has himself given no details ; we insert therefore the following facts, taken from a letter recently published in one of the public Journals, most hostile to the General, and written by a person well known, and who had been proscribed at the Revolution of 18. *Fructidor*. The writer describes himself as being ' neither the eulogist nor the censurer ' of General Carnôt ; but confesses he was unable to keep silence, when he saw him, in the Royalist pamphlets, compared with Mandrin the highwayman, and recommendations given to ' bury him alive, ' or ' exhibit him in an iron cage. '

' In the year 8, General Carnôt took charge of the War Department. At that period, fifteen months salary were due to the individuals employed in that office. In the space of three months, all was paid, excepting the salary of the Minister himself.

' The Minister rose generally at five in the morning, and was employed until nine in expediting himself the most urgent business. Then the heads of division were introduced, and the Minister only quitted them to attend the Council.

' We were just entering on a campaign. A contract for *horses* was about to take place. *Lanchère*, the contractor, obtained the preference, on account of the good security which he offered. It had been customary, under the old government, never to conclude a bargain without presenting the Minister with a *douceur*. The *douceur* on such an occasion would amount to 50,000 livres (upwards of 2000*l.*) The Minister at first did not understand what this meant. But, upon being informed of the *custom*, he took the present without hesitation, and, immediately returning it into the hands of *Lanchère*, " There," said he, " are 50,000 livres in advance upon payment of your contract ; be correct in your proceedings, and I will continue to employ you. "

' General Carnôt could have amassed wealth, and that without committing himself, by means of the contracts for the invalids and the hospitals ; but such speculations were at all times unworthy of that Minister. Indeed, it was in consequence of the unpleasant altercations he experienced in reducing the expenditure of the hospitals, that he resigned. '



‘ J’ai offert mes services au chef de l’Etat dans un moment où le salut de la patrie était presque désespéré, et l’on a dit que c’était par ambition.

‘ Chargé de la défense d’une place importante, j’ai inspiré la confiance au soldat, je lui ai fait aimer la discipline, j’ai maintenu l’ordre et la sécurité parmi les habitans, lorsque tout au-dehors était livré aux alarmes et à l’oppression ; j’ai, sous ma responsabilité, empêché l’incendie d’un immense faubourg de cette ville, et l’on a essayé de persuader que je ne m’étais montré dans cette place que comme un despote et un vandale.

‘ J’aime et je cultive les sciences et les lettres, et l’on a dit que j’avais voulu désorganiser l’instruction publique.

‘ J’ai idolâtré ma patrie, et bientôt, peut-être, je serai forcé de solliciter de la générosité des princes étrangers un asile dans leurs états.

‘ Des parens, des amis, tous les hommes à idées libérales et modérées prennent part à mes infortunes : ils me croient dans l’affliction. Qu’ils se rassurent ; je puis confirmer à leurs yeux cette grande vérité de morale universelle, qu’avec un cœur pur on n’est jamais malheureux.

— ‘ *ille potens sui*

*Lætusque deget, cui licet in diem*

*Dirisse, vixi.*’ p. 49—51.

These are not the lamentations of a disappointed courtier, or a decayed and broken-down intriguer ; they are the parting words of a stern patriot, in whose mind, if the gentler feelings of our nature had not their full place, it was only because the love of his country swayed with absolute and undivided empire ; whose political conduct, if sometimes harsh and unbending, never once was equivocally selfish or timid ; whose zeal for publick liberty, oftentimes exposed him to the vulgar charge of enthusiasm, and only seemed to admit of a temporary abatement, when, in the choice of mighty evils, he saw that he must either league himself with domestic oppressors, or witness the more intolerable yoke of strange, barbarous, and exasperated conquerors. But wherefore do we dwell upon the character and the fortunes of an individual, wholly withdrawn from the publick gaze, and surviving, in obscurity, all but the recollection of exploits which once bore his fame abroad upon the wide spreading renown of his country ?—It is because we believe his errors to have been honest, and because we know them not to have been profitable ; because he has at all times dared to avow and to maintain his principles, fearless of consequences to himself, and only bending before the storms that menaced the publick safety ; above all, because he has been singled out by the minions of arbitrary power as a sacrifice to their idol of ‘ *legitimacy*,’—an ancient abomination, with a newfangled, uncouth name, but long ago chased, we trust for ever, from this free country with the other devices of our popish tyrants.

We might indeed justify the interest taken in the fate of M. Carnôt, were it merely as an individual, by reminding the reader that his misfortunes are scarcely less remarkable than his merits. He has been in opposition to all the tyrannies, and suffered by almost every one of the changes which for five and twenty years have visited his distracted country; and now, in the decline of life, with neither health nor spirits to struggle against calamity, he is fated to see his countrymen enslaved by a foreign soldiery; the trophies which he so mightily assisted in winning, torn from them as the symbols of crime; and himself proscribed once more, alone of his colleagues, but in common with his party, his family and friends. It is natural, from such a situation, to draw reflexions of a melancholy cast. Yet a patriot in adverse circumstances, is not to be pitied like an ordinary sufferer. His misfortunes are his country's, not his own; and he feels the calmness of martyrdom, if not its exultation, when, in fighting for the good cause, he has reached what the vulgar regard as the pitch of despair. He can look back upon the past triumphs in which he shared, and the contests in which he was honestly defeated, to relieve his present anguish; and even if the future should afford him no gleam of hope, he can submit cheerfully, because he feels that his own duty has been faithfully done. If a frame, wasted before its time in the service of mankind, or the somewhat slower progress of natural decay, have brought him within view of the period to which all things hasten, he looks forward to the enjoyment of a repose which he had never tasted; and, gazing at length upon prospects where disappointment can no longer cast a shade, he feels satisfied that his misfortunes have benefited the cause he served. The cold-hearted and worldly-minded may mock his enthusiasm; the slave of a base and unprincipled despotism may affect to deride what he has long since learnt to dread from the bottom of his soul; but let him beware how he disbelieves the existence of such a spirit, or reckons upon its extinction with the victims whom he has destroyed; for the fire may again burst from their ashes, and devour him with all the idols of his worship.

It is impossible to reflect on the conduct of many leading persons in these times, and the language familiarly held by their creatures, without serious alarm for the liberties of mankind. Were their talents at all proportioned to their power and their numbers, we might indeed be dismayed. A proneness to receive the yoke; an aversion to every thing like manly resistance; a greediness after displays of force and power; a delight in the topics and expressions of arbitrary sway, seem to recal the very worst periods in the history of the country, when the people, in their zeal to be enslaved, outran the measures, and almost kept

pace with the wishes of the Court. Under the hollow pretext of discussing what may be good for France, we have of late been listening to doctrines utterly subversive of the foundations upon which English liberty is built. The sacred doctrine of resistance, the corner-stone of the Constitution, has been covertly attacked; and we are already become familiar with a more open and audacious promulgation of the principle, that the crown is for the benefit of him who wears it. Nay, proofs are not wanting that the accidental circumstances of the Catholic question have alone prevented our ears from being assailed by a defence of the religious persecution under which our Protestant brethren in some parts of Europe, are at this moment suffering; \* while every manifestation of arbitrary principles into which an inexperienced and misguided sovereign has been betrayed, has been palliated and almost applauded by the pensioners, the placemen, and the place-hunters of the English press. We own, that it is difficult to see these things without anxiety, lest they prove the forerunners of evil times. Many persons, indeed, can descry no danger to liberty in those inroads, trifling perhaps in themselves, which all history shows to be speedily fatal if not immediately resisted. Nay, we verily believe, that were the Crown disposed to levy a sum of money without the authority of Parliament, or to keep together the army, without a Mutiny bill, numbers of your calm, rational people, who despise enthusiasm, and laugh at all danger to the Constitution, would think it signified very little, so the sum was only a small one, and the Mutiny bill were to expire but for a week or two; and would treat him as a zealot who should say, that our freedom was in danger, while trial by jury, and the liberty of the press, still remained. In short, unless the whole fabric could be destroyed at once, these men of cool sense

---

\* We are prevented from entering at large upon the interesting subject of the Protestant persecutions which have lately disgraced the constituted authorities in France, by the extreme difficulty of separating the religious from the political parts of the disputes in that distracted country, and our fears of giving a false impression upon so delicate a question. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, we are enabled to say, that such acts have been committed, though chiefly under the colour of what is termed the *reaction* upon political grounds. The extent of these outrages we have no means of ascertaining; but they well deserve to fix the attention of the people of this country. Some interesting particulars will be found upon this subject, in a tract entitled '*Statements of the Persecution of the Protestants*,' by the Reverend J. Cobbin, published by Ogles & Co. London. The author shows himself to be a warm friend of religion and civil liberty.

see no real danger to the Constitution. With such an army, however, and such a revenue as the Crown possesses, the turning of a straw is important to the balance ; and they who preach the slavish doctrines just now cited, are indeed the heralds—we know them to be the well paid heralds—of a despotism by which every man who dares not resist it, deserves to be crushed. It cannot be too often repeated to the people of this country, that their very worst enemies are those who affect never to see any real danger to liberty ;—hold up to ridicule all its best friends as senseless alarmists, crying out without a reason ;—and at each blow that is given to the undoubted rights of the Nation, are ready to exclaim how slight it is, and how much is left uninjured.†

ART. IX. *Travels into the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly and Macedonia, during the Years 1812 and 1813.* By HENRY HOLLAND, M. D. F. R. S. &c. Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Co. London, 1815.

IT is but a few years since Mr Gibbon could say with truth, that the country which is the principal theatre of these travels was as little known to the civilized world as the wilds of North America. There is, however, no longer the same room for this reproach. The new situation in which Europe has been placed during the last 20 years, if it has obstructed the intercourse of nations in many respects, has certainly promoted it in others. The French expedition to Egypt, carried into the East a number of learned and scientific travellers, who, but for that singular attempt, would probably never have gone beyond the borders of their own country : And the first of those who have lately visited Albania, was a member of the learned Body which proposed to plant the sciences of Europe on the banks of the Nile. The attempt of Napoleon to shut all the ports of Europe against the trade of England, forced merchandise into new channels ; and while the manufactures of that country, and the produce of her colonies, found their way

---

† The extraordinary measure of delaying the assembling of Parliament, until some months after the most important Peace ever concluded by this country has been signed, ratified, and in part carried into execution, merits particular attention ; especially considering the time chosen for such a departure from the practice of the Constitution. To ask a parliamentary sanction of the treaty, after this interval, is a mere mockery.

from Salonica to Vienna, across the wildest part of the Turkish empire, the people became accustomed to the sight of strangers, and the chieftains felt it their interest to protect them. The English traveller also, excluded from France and Italy, to satisfy his curiosity or his restlessness, was forced into the more distant regions of Egypt, Syria and Greece. Since Pouquéville, the French physician just referred to, three English travellers have, in succession, visited Albania, and have given some account of its geography and its inhabitants. Hobhouse, in 1809 and 1810, travelled over a great part of that country, and has recorded what appeared to him most worthy of notice. Major Leake, after passing much time in Greece, has published *Researches*, which however are almost entirely confined to the subject of language, the dialects of the Romaic, and their affinity to the antient Greek. Room was still left for Dr Holland's inquiries, which are the more valuable that he appears to have attended particularly to the physical geography and mineralogy of the country, and that he had an opportunity of crossing over the great central chain of Pindus as he passed from Albania into Thessaly, and afterwards of penetrating farther into the northern parts of the former tract than any European traveller had done before him.

It may assist our readers in forming a distinct notion of the principal scene of these travels, to consider that the great promontory, of which Greece makes a part, is traversed longitudinally by a chain of mountains descending from the north, which, between the parallels of 40° and 39° north, attain their highest elevation, and had anciently the name of Pindus, separating Epire on the west, from Thessaly on the east. Farther to the south, the same chain, lowering its elevation, forms the celebrated heights of Oeta, Parnassus, Helicon, and Cytheron; after which, in the plains of Attica, it descends to the level of the sea. The length of this chain does not much exceed 200 geographical miles; its direction is north-west and south-east, nearly bisecting the peninsula traversed by it, which is about 120 geographical miles in breadth, having the Ionian sea on the west, and the Archipelago or Gulph of Salonica on the east. At the south end, where the promontory just described greatly contracts its breadth, it is joined by the isthmus of Corinth to the Peloponnesus or Morea on the west side; and to Eubœa or Negropont by a still narrower neck on the east. Taken altogether, these may be considered as one great promontory, which maintains everywhere a breadth nearly uniform, but increasing somewhat at its southern extremity, where a very irregular and deeply indented outline either marks the depredations of the sea, or the encroachments of the land.

Greece, however, the country which has been the parent of so many great men, and the theatre of so many great events, did not occupy the whole even of this limited territory. On the western side of the longitudinal chain was Epirus, of which the inhabitants were Greeks; but beyond them, and farther to the north, were the Illyrians, an uncivilized race, on whom the Greeks bestowed the name of barbarians, with more justice than always accompanied their use of that appellation. The present Albania comprehends a great part both of Epirus and Illyricum. It is a name, however, not applied to any part of this tract by the writers of antiquity, earlier than the days of Ptolemy, in whose geography the names of Albani and Albanopolis are mentioned for the first time. Albanopolis is there laid down about 48 geographical miles north-east of Dyrachium, and near the source of a river which is represented as running into the sea, on the south side of that promontory. The course of this river in the modern maps, is different from that in Ptolemy's, and would place Albanopolis east from Dyrachium (Durazzo) inclining a little to the south. The Albani are represented in the map of the same geographer as inhabiting a territory of small extent between the river just mentioned, and another farther to the south, which it is not difficult to identify with one traced in the modern maps of that region. The antient Albani, therefore, inhabited but a small tract near the northern extremity of what is now occupied by the people of the same name. Thus, we are left entirely in the dark as to the extension of the name of Albania from a small district to a great country; and we are equally without information concerning the origin of the people who now inhabit it. The writers just named, have taken some pains to remove this obscurity, and to trace out the history of the Albanians. Their researches have not been very successful: And indeed, for what purpose should we inquire into the history of barbarous tribes, ruled, at least in the times nearest the present, by the iron rod of despotism, and subject to the continual vicissitudes of servitude and insurrection? If those tribes, however, have produced in Scanderbeg a hero who may rank with Pyrrhus, the glory of the same country in better times, it must be confessed that they have one strong claim to our attention.

The present condition of Albania also merits attention, as it exhibits the phenomena of incipient civilization, and of light breaking in from the west on the darkness, so profound and extensive, which has long overwhelmed the east. On this subject, Dr HOLLAND affords some very important information. He appears himself as a candid and enlightened observer, free from prejudice, and having the information necessary to enable him

to describe both the natural and the moral phenomena of the countries which he has visited. He is the same person of whom some years ago we had occasion to speak with much praise, on account of the historical detail concerning Iceland, which he drew up when he returned from the visit which, along with SIR GEORGE MACKENZIE, he made to that island. We are happy to meet with him now in a more genial climate, and shall endeavour to follow him through Albania and Thessaly. He has paid much attention to the geography of these countries; and his own skill has been assisted, as he tells us, by that of SIR WILLIAM GELL, to whom the geographer and the antiquary are already under so many obligations. The map accordingly, which he has given us, though on a small scale, seems infinitely more correct in its physical characters, particularly in the relation of the chains of mountains to the courses of the rivers, than those of the other travellers we have mentioned. The maps of POUQUEVILLE and HOBHOUSE, though in some respects constructed with considerable care, are loose and vague as to the position of the mountains, and convey no idea at all of the direction, the breadth, or the elevation of the chains which they form. The map of Greece, in the *Travels* of the younger ANACHARSIS, is as defective as the rest, though it probably possesses considerable correctness as to the outline and the figure of the shores. There is, it must be admitted, a great deal of merit in having excelled in the description of a country where the physical geography is of so much importance.

The chief city of Albania is Ioannina, situated on the west side of a lake, in a high plain, about 30 miles from the sea, and elevated above it about 1000 or 1200 feet: the length of the lake is about six miles, and its breadth hardly two, its channel being narrowed by a projecting point, on which stands the citadel or fortress of Ioannina, with a small island opposite to it. The area of the fortress, which forms a small town in itself, is cut off from the city by a lofty stone wall, and a broad moat filled with water from the lake. The extent of the city, as it stretches backwards from the fortress, and on each side, is more considerable than the same number of inhabitants would occupy in the towns of other European countries. Besides the vacant spaces of the mosques and burying grounds, all the better houses, both of Turks and Greeks, have areas attached to them, in which there generally grow a few trees, producing that intermixture of buildings and wood which is always beheld with so much interest.

‘ The central part of the city, occupied in great part by the streets forming the Bazars, is the only one where much continuity is preserved; and here the houses are in general much lower and

smaller than elsewhere. The breadth of the town, which nowhere exceeds  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles, is defined by a range of low eminences, running parallel to the shore of the lake, and affording, from their summit, one of the most striking views of the city, the lake, and the distant heights of the Pindus chain. The interior aspect of Ioannina, except where there is some opening to the landscape that surrounds it, is gloomy, and without splendour. Few of the streets preserve a uniform line; those inhabited by the lowest classes are mostly wretched mud-built cottages, and are chiefly in the outskirts of the city. The middle ranks dwell in a better description of buildings, the upper part of which is constructed of wood, with a small open gallery under the projecting roof. The higher classes, both of Greeks and Turks, have in general very large houses, often forming two or three sides of the areas attached to them, with wide galleries which go along the whole front of the building.

The number of inhabitants of this metropolis does not seem to DR HOLLAND to exceed 30,000; though there is considerable uncertainty, accounts varying, as he says, from 25 to 40, or even 50,000. This population is composed of Greeks, Turks, Albanians, and Jews; the Greeks probably the most numerous, and certainly the most respectable. They are the oldest inhabitants of the city; many of their families having been established there for several centuries.

The Albanian residents in Ioannina are among the lower class of the people; those in military service are chiefly quartered upon the Greek families, and are a severe burden. A Greek merchant is often required, all at once, to provide lodging for 40 or 50 men, of an irregular and undisciplined soldiery. The absence of the Vizier from his capital, is of course a sort of jubilee to the principal inhabitants. Very few of the natives of other European countries are to be found at Ioannina. Mr FORREST, the English resident, was absent at the time when they first visited the city. M. POUQUEVILLE, the French resident, under the title of Consul-General for Albania, had passed seven years here, somewhat comforted by the presence of his brother, who had the office of Consul at the sea-port of Previsa.

Our acquaintance with this gentleman was the source of much satisfaction to us during our stay here. We found him extremely intelligent and well informed, and were indebted to him for a degree of attention, which the nature of his situation, under a government hostile to ours, did not entitle us to expect.

The police of Ioannina is extremely good; the vigilance of the Pasha extends to every corner of the city; and patrols of Albanian soldiers pass the night in the streets, to ensure tranquillity. No one is allowed to walk in the streets, after dark, without a lamp or torch. The bazars are regularly closed at a certain hour of the evening, and are delivered over to the care



of some large and fierce dogs, who are the nightly guards of the place.

The climate of Ioannina is much influenced by its situation, and its vicinity to the mountains. Its height, as already stated, was inferred from barometrical observation to be between 1000 and 1200 feet. Though in the latitude of  $39^{\circ} 30'$ , its average temperature for the winter does not appear to be greater than that of the western parts of England. They arrived at Ioannina in the beginning of November; and all the higher ridges of Pindus were covered with snow. The weather was fine, but cold; and the thermometer, at 8 in the morning, varied from  $40^{\circ}$  to  $44^{\circ}$ . Several rainy days succeeded, with occasional thunder; and much snow fell on Pindus, and even on the mountains nearer to the lake. Before day-break on the 9th, there was a thunder storm, very violent and of long continuance; and the reverberation from the mountains round the city was beyond measure grand and impressive. This was succeeded by weather perfectly serene. At 8 in the morning on the 13th, the thermometer was at  $40^{\circ}$ . At the same hour next day, it was  $33^{\circ}$ ; and a good deal of ice had been formed in the night. On the 14th, there were two slight shocks of an earthquake, followed by heavy clouds and rain on the succeeding day. In the months of January and February, the cold was very severe, the winds being north and north-east. The snow lay on the plain to a great depth; and for ten days the lake was so firmly frozen over, that the people crossed it everywhere on the ice. It is to be remarked, that this lake is nowhere of any considerable depth. Earthquakes are frequent here, which might perhaps be conjectured from the vicinity to the Ionian Isles, where they so often occur. These earthquakes are said to be generally followed by rain. The winds at Ioannina are often extremely violent. The common temperature of springs in the country is  $55^{\circ}$  or  $56^{\circ}$ .

It has been already mentioned, that the depth of the lake is inconsiderable. At the northern end, the waters issue through a low marshy ground, and afterwards pass underneath the great ridge of Metzukul to another small lake about six miles distant. This is the principal issue of the waters from the lake of Ioannina. The strata are all calcareous; a circumstance which is known to be highly favourable to such subterraneous communications.

Ali Pasha, the ruler of Albania, has rendered himself almost independent of the Porte, and has united, under his own government, many of the smaller districts that were formerly subject to separate Pashas. He was left by his father, at the age of about fifteen, to the care of his mother, by birth an Albanian, and a woman of the most undaunted resolution. After a

long conflict with the neighbouring chieftains, he acquired possession of the great district over which he now rules. It may be said, that the territory subject to his dominion is defined, at its northern extremity, by a line drawn from about Durazzo eastward to the head of the Gulf of Sdonica. The line of the coast, extending southward from Durazzo along the shores of the Adriatic, and afterwards of the Gulf of Corinth, form the western and southern boundaries of his dominions, while the eastern is formed by the coast of the Archipelago, as far as a line drawn from Theriopyle to the Gulf of Corinth. This territory, according to the classical divisions of antiquity, comprehends the whole of Epirus, the southern part of Illyricum, a part of Macedonia, and the whole of Thessaly, &c. The power of Ali, however, is not equally absolute throughout this extent. In Ardena, he is despotic in an unlimited sense; in Thessaly, and the south-eastern part of his territory, his power is limited, and more subject to the controul of Constantinople. He is himself a person of considerable talents; of much more than the ordinary information of a Turkish ruler, and far better instructed about the politics of Europe than is usual with his countrymen. He maintains at Constantinople a number of agents, Greeks as well as Turks, who support his influence in the Divan, and forward the progress of his political views. Residents from England, France and Russia are established at his own court; and he is engaged in a regular correspondence with these and other powers of Europe and Africa. His political information is generally exact, and obtained with great promptitude, that Ioannina often becomes the channel through which both Constantinople and the Ionian Isles are informed of events in the centre of Europe. With information and resources we have said, much above the level of Turkish attainment, he has all the ferocity and savage revenge which belong to his own nation.

His attention to the English, with whom he conceived it his interest to be on good terms, and his desire of consulting an English physician, made him receive DR HOLLAND with great kindness. At their first interview, he expressed a wish to have the Doctor's opinion about his complaints. These complaints were not of a very acute or urgent nature: The Doctor does not inform us more particularly of their nature; but whatever they were, his prescriptions seem to have given satisfaction, as the Visier parted with him unwillingly, and would have gladly detained him in his dominions. It was not, indeed, without a promise of returning that he could obtain leave to prosecute his journey into Thessaly, and other parts of Greece.

In an account of any place in European Turkey, the situation of the Greeks is one of the objects of greatest interest. The trade of Ioannina, which is very considerable, is chiefly carried on by the Greek inhabitants. Indeed, the greater part of the foreign trade of Turkey is carried on by Greek houses, which have residents at home, and branches in various cities of Europe. Dr HOLLAND was intimate with a Greek family at Ioannina, where, of four brothers, one was settled in that city, another at Moscow, a third at Constantinople, and the fourth in some part of Germany, all connected with one another. Most of the Greek merchants have travelled much in Europe, are instructed in the manners of different nations, and speak several languages. The port of Trieste has generally been a great channel of this trade; and many houses established there have a relation with others in Vienna, Leipsic, &c. A large amount of Greek property was lodged in the bank at Moscow, including the funds of several public institutions. 'We were,' says Dr HOLLAND, 'in Ioannina at the time that the news of the burning of Moscow arrived, and could judge of the great sensation which that event excited among them.' The Greeks of Ioannina are celebrated among their countrymen for their literature, and are unquestionably entitled to the reputation they have obtained at the present time. Nearly two-thirds of the modern Greek publications are translations of European works. Such translations are often both suggested and executed abroad; and the presses at Venice, Vienna, Leipsic, Moscow and Paris are all made to contribute to this purpose.

There are two academies in the city, at which the greater part of the young Greeks are instructed. The gymnasium of Athanasius Psalida, ranks as the first of these, and has acquired reputation from the character of the master, who is considered as one of the chiefs of the literature of modern Greece. He has travelled much—is a master of many languages—a good classical scholar—an acute critic—and a poet; besides being versed in various parts of the science of Europe. His only avowed work, is one, entitled *True Happiness, or the basis of all religious worship*, in which a general tone of sceptical opinion is prevalent. He instructs his pupils not only in Languages but in History, Geography, and various branches of Philosophy. The other academy at Ioannina is calculated for a younger class of scholars. The father of Valano, the present head, is the author of one or two mathematical works, well esteemed in that country. The school is supported in great part by the noble benefactions of the Zosimades, one of the greatest and most wealthy of the modern

Greek families. Two of the brothers are resident in Italy, a third in Russia. It is said that the sums they annually transmit to Ioannina, in the form of books, of funds for the school, and of other literary benefactions, do not fall short of 20,000 piastres. Various books have been published and circulated for the use of the Greeks, at the expense of this benevolent and enlightened family. Among these, is an important work, called the Hellenic Library, of which several volumes have been already published at Paris, containing the works of Isocrates, Piatarch, Aelian, &c.

DR HOLLAND having agreed to revisit Ioannina, began to prepare for a journey into Thessaly, and for crossing the chain of Pindus, before the snows of the winter should render the route impassable. The son of Ali Pasha, viz. Vili Pasha, was the governor of Thessaly, and resided at Larissa; and he now, at the request of his father, was also to become a patient of an English physician. DR HOLLAND, and a friend who accompanied him, received from ALI PASHA an official mandate, to serve as their passport through the country, and by which they were recommended to the protection of the Waiwods, Agas, and other magistrates of every district through which they should pass. In crossing the area of the Seraglio in the morning of their departure, they saw the head of a man suspended upon a pole, three or four feet above the ground, the blood still dropping from the neck. The execution must have taken place but a few minutes before; but they did not think it prudent to inquire into the circumstances. The sight appeared, indeed, wholly indifferent to the rude assemblage of soldiers who were walking about, and were doubtless well accustomed to such spectacles.

They had a Tartar given them to attend them in their journey. These men perform the offices of public couriers all over Turkey, and are remarkable for their power of enduring fatigue, and of travelling on horseback with great rapidity. It is said that one of them rode from Tripolitza in the Morea to Constantinople, and back again, in little more than 12 days, though the distance is 1200 miles. ✍

They had several summits to ascend before they reached the central chain of Pindus. One of these, Mezoukel, is described as remarkable for the magnificence of the view which it affords.

‘ On the one side are the deep bason and lake of Ioannina, with the surrounding plain and mountains; the palaces and minarets of the city still distinctly seen overhanging the waters of the lake; on the other side the profound valley of Arachus, which separates Metzoukel on the east from the central heights of Pindus: both for sin-

gularity and grandeur, I know scarcely any view which is comparable to the one from this spot.'

On descending from this height and crossing the intermediate valley, they began the ascent of Pindus, the successive ridges and elevations of which conduct the traveller to a height that is here estimated at 7000 feet.

They stopped at a Khan, a little below the summit, where they were to pass the night.

'The evening was cold and stormy, and the place as we approached it, had an aspect of wildness and desolation. It was a square of low buildings rudely constructed, with a gateway in front, surmounted by a sort of open turret. The apartments for the accommodation of travellers are wretched places, with naked walls, no windows, and not a single article of furniture, except straw mattresses. Bread, goat's milk, cheese and wine, were the only provisions we could obtain here; and we found that our Ioannina friends had judged kindly in furnishing us with a small store for our journey. The water at this place, however, is reputed of very excellent quality; and it is said that the Visier is frequently supplied with it from a fountain, which has been erected in a hollow of the mountain, near to the Khan. The Tartar Osmyn, and another Turk who had joined our party, slept in a room adjoining to us. Several other cavalcades of men and horses came to the Khan in the course of the evening; and the noise of rude song and boisterous merriment went through every part of the building.'

From this point their journey lay to Metzovo, a town situated among the heights of Pindus, about 24 miles distant from the Khan where they had passed the night. The inhabitants, who are chiefly Wallachians, are respectable, and extensively engaged in commerce of the same kind as at Ioannina. Here they found a good deal of wood, which was a sort of novelty, and which added great beauty to the valleys which intersect the precipitous faces of the mountain. Metzovo is one of the most interesting geographical positions in the south of Turkey. From that part of the chain of Pindus, four large rivers take their rise. The river Arta, which runs into the gulph of that name in the Ionian sea, is the least considerable of the four. The Aspropotamo, the ancient Achelous rises at no great distance from the former river, and runs in a southerly direction through a mountainous tract which has been rarely visited by modern travellers. It continues its progress between the ancient Etolia and Acharnania, and enters the Ionian sea near the town of Messalongi, opposite to the small islands, the Echinades of antiquity, which Herodotus says were formed by the river itself. The third river is the Salympria, or ancient Peneus, which, from the east side of Pindus, descends into the plains of Thea-

saly, and makes its way into the Archipelago, through the deep defiles of Tempe. The Viosa is the fourth stream, the Aios of antiquity; a large river, which, running in a north-west direction (in the text erroneously called north-east), falls into the Adriatic near Polina, the ancient Apollonia.

The ridge between the plains of Ioannina and the valley of Aspropotamo, exhibits, where the road crosses it, a series of beds or layers of calcareous shale, regularly disposed, and, in some places, with very great inclination.

I did not observe in the shale any marine organic remains. The same formation is seen along the banks of the river Arta, on the way to Metzovo, often with a very contorted stratification; and interrupted, at intervals, by rocks of limestone, which come down in abrupt cliffs to the channel of the stream. This limestone probably forms the basis of all the country to the west of the river Arta, and is also the material of the lower part of Pindus on its eastern side. The bed of the river, however, and the channels of the streams which join it from the east, contain fragments which prove that the central parts of Pindus are composed of primitive formations. I observed fragments of liennite, porphyry, and serpentine; a few of mica slate, and others of a conglomerated rock, chiefly composed of primitive fragments. I did not see any granite, but a very great abundance of fragments of jasper, green, red, yellow, &c. The general aspect of the mountains had much of the character belonging to a country of primitive slate, but I had no direct evidence of this, the lower part of their declivities being covered with limestone rocks or shale.

The uppermost ridge of Pindus, where we traversed it, appeared to be composed entirely of serpentine, which immediately attracts the attention of the traveller by its peculiar appearance. I first observed this rock on quitting the valley of the stream, which we followed in the first part of our ascent from Metzovo. Near the summit, where the vegetation became very scanty, its glassy surface reflected the light of the sun, so as to produce a remarkable, and even brilliant effect. There was no appearance of stratification, the rock showing itself in rude, amorphous peaks and masses. This serpentine is perfectly distinct in its characters. It is of a blackish green colour, pretty uniform throughout the substance of the stone, and mixed with very little red. The lustre is resinous; internally dull, externally glistening. Of the extent of this serpentine formation I am unable to speak; but from the external character of the mountains, and the fragments I found in the valley of the river Arta, I conceive it likely that it occupies various points in the summit of the chain, probably reposing in these unconformable masses upon some of the primitive slate rocks.'

After enjoying for some time the magnificent view from the summit of Pindus towards the valley of the Peneus, which lies

at its feet, they began the descent, which was more gradual than on the western side, and with more trees, such as pines, beeches, and planès. It gives a great idea of the trade carried on across these mountains, that the author mentions frequently meeting with large cavalcades of horses, attended by Tartars and Albanians, and loaded with grain, cotton, and coarse cloths, which they were carrying from Thessaly. In one day they met with not less than 400 of these.

When they reached the valley of the Silympria, or Peneus, they found it highly interesting. It abounded in wood, much of which was the plane tree, extremely luxuriant, and now variegated by the richest tints of autumn. The channel of the river is occasionally confined by steep cliffs, but more generally spread out in a wide bed, and often enclosing islands. During the floods of winter, the breadth often exceeds a quarter of a mile; but at the time it was visited by our traveller, the stream did not occupy more than a tenth of the entire bed.

They had now descended into the vale of Thessaly, and their attention was immediately attracted by the extraordinary rocks of Meteora. These rocks rise from the flat surface of the valley, and consist of a group of insulated masses, cones and pillars, of great height, and so perpendicular, that each of their fronts looks like a vast wall formed rather by art than by nature. The deep and winding recesses between them are thickly wooded; and the foliage of the trees increases the effect of the great pyramids of naked rock which rise from the bosom of the wood.

‘When we approached this spot, the evening was far advanced, and the setting sun still threw a gleam of light on the summits of these rocks, and showed the outline of several Greek monasteries, in a situation entirely separated from the world below. For a moment, the delusion might have extended to the moral character of these institutions, and the fancy might have framed to itself a purer form of religion, amidst this insulated magnificence of nature, than when contaminated by the intercourse of the world. How completely this is delusion, it requires but little knowledge of the present and past history of monastic worship sufficiently to prove.’

They rested all night at the small town of Kalabaca, immediately below the loftiest of these natural pyramids. The next morning was employed in an excursion to the rocks and monasteries themselves. The group of rocks is almost entirely insulated from the adjoining hills. Though the outline of the group is irregular in form, yet, generally speaking, it may be called triangular; the length of each side of which may be something more than two miles. The point immediately above Calabaca, cannot be less than 400 or 500 feet in height. On the side of the town it rises to about two thirds of this height, by a perpet-

dicular plane of rock, so uniform in surface that it seems as if artificially formed. On the opposite side, the base of the rock falls even within the perpendicular from the top, and there is the same singular uniformity of surface. The pinnacle is clothed with brushwood, but is perfectly inaccessible on all sides.

‘The most striking part of the scenery is to the north-west of this point, and within the area of the supposed triangle. We entered there one of the deep valleys or recesses which lead to the interior of the group, and continued our progress through the forest of wood which occupies the space between the rocks. On each side of us were lofty pinnacles of rock; some entirely conical; others, single pillars, of great height, and very small diameter; others very nearly rhomboidal in form, and actually inclining over their base; others, again, perfect squares or oblongs (that is, we presume, quadrangular and upright prisms), with perpendicular sides and level summits. Nor by the term masses are mere fragments of rock to be understood. It is the original mountain which is thus wonderfully cleft and divided; by what agency it may be difficult to determine; but, perhaps, by the joint operation of some convulsion, and of that progressive decay which proceeds so perpetually and so extensively over the face of the globe. The height of these rocks is various; the greater number rise more than 100 feet from the level of the valley, several exceed 200 or 300, and that already mentioned appears to exceed 400.’

‘The natural history of the Meteora rocks is as interesting to the mineralogist as their picturesque scenery to the painter. They are composed entirely of a conglomerate, the included fragments of which are, for the most part, of small size, and appear to belong almost exclusively to the class of primitive rocks. On examination, I found among the fragments granite, both with red and white felspar, gneiss, mica slate, chlorite slate, sienite, greenstone, quartz, pebbles, &c. most of these stones showing the appearance of their having been water-worn, or otherwise subjected to attrition. The basis of the conglomerate seems to be merely the same fragments in a more comminuted state; the rock in its general mass, presenting to the eye a dark iron-grey shade of colour. In some of the perpendicular cliffs, the stratification of the conglomerate is very distinctly and beautifully seen in their horizontal layers; the best specimen of which stratification is probably that in the great precipice behind Kalabaca.’

‘The summit which I have already mentioned as the highest point of Meteora, is apparently composed of some other material than the conglomerate. Examining its appearances as minutely as was possible, I was led to think it probable that it might be one of the Trap-rocks; but this is obviously doubtful, from the circumstances under which the observation was made.’

Here we must be permitted to observe, what indeed could hard-



ly escape so skilful an observer as DR HOLLAND, that the stones and fragments, if there are any at the bottom of the perpendicular rock, must probably afford the means of verifying the above conjecture. If among these are found any pieces of trap, they must certainly have come from the summit of the pyramid. If none such are found, the existence of trap at the summit must at least be considered as extremely doubtful. On the extent of this conglomerate, nothing certain can be concluded from DR HOLLAND's observations. That he did not meet with it, ~~any~~ where else in the vicinity, is not quite conclusive against it, greater extent, as it may be a wall of conglomerate, having nearly the same direction with the chain of Pindus, and separating the primitive rocks of those mountains from the secondary formations stretched out into the plains of Thessaly. As Dr HOLLAND's route led him to cross this line nearly at right angles; he was not likely to meet with it in any other part of his tour. However that be, the conglomerate itself is extremely singular, and highly deserving of attention. It calls to our mind, though the resemblance may be less striking than we imagine, the rock over which the water of Fyers in Inverness-shire pours itself, when it forms the cataract of the same name, and descends into the lake of the Ness. DR HOLLAND observes, that the conglomerate of Meteora is extremely liable to decay, but that, nevertheless, it is difficult to conceive how, without the agency of earthquakes, it should have taken forms so singularly abrupt and precipitous. The horizontal and undisturbed position of the strata which he observed in those rocks, seems unfavourable to this supposition; and their existence in the form of slender pillars, and overhanging rhomboids, makes it evident that earthquakes have not acted on them, for a long time at least, with any considerable force. The particular constitution of the rock, and the general agency of decay, till the question is further examined, must be regarded as the only causes to which we are entitled to have recourse.

It is highly interesting in the history of these classical countries, to find any confirmation of the descriptions given of them by the writers of antiquity. DR HOLLAND remarks, that there is not any absolute proof that the rocks of Meteora were known to the ancients by any peculiarities of form similar to the present; and it is indeed certain, that the progress of time must have made great changes in their appearance. There are, however, some allusions to a character not altogether foreign from that which they at present possess. Homer, in the Second Book, after mentioning Trica, which is the modern Tricola, a town only twelve miles farther down the valley, joins with it in

the same line, Ithome, which he calls *Κλαμαροισσα*, that is, rugged, or full of cliffs; an expression very applicable to the country in its present state. Strabo also describes Ithome as a place fortified by nature with rocks and precipices; and he mentions it as not far distant from Thica.

On the summits of these insulated rocks, the sanctity or fanaticism of the Greek monks had anciently placed twenty-four monasteries, which, by their own decay, or that of the rocks on which they stood, are now reduced to ten. Dr HOLLAND, with his friend, visited one of them, which was elevated more than 180 feet above the plane. They were drawn up in a net, at the end of a rope which was let down to them over a pulley. The view of the country and the rocks from the summit was extensive, and singular in the extreme. The monks received them with civility; but their conversation did not impress them with any favourable idea of the advantages, either spiritual or temporal, to be gained from dwelling in their lofty and insulated situation. The plate which Dr HOLLAND has given, p. 239, conveys a very striking idea of these extraordinary habitations.

The plain of Thessaly, into which they had now descended, is, in its physical geography, extremely remarkable. It is not uncommon to meet with a valley or a plain, whether of great or of small extent, encompassed by mountains on all sides but one; but Thessaly is so encompassed on every side; and has for the issue of its waters but one narrow outlet, hardly wider than is sufficient to let the river pass through. On the west, the great chain of Pindus is the boundary of Thessaly, and separates it from Albania; on the north, a branch, running eastward till it meet the sea, cuts off the plain of Thessaly from the country of Macedonia. The ridge last mentioned, as it approaches the coast turning to the south, and shooting successively into the renowned summits of Olympus, Ossa, and Pelion, interposes a mighty barrier between Thessaly and the Archipelago. On the south, the mountain chain of Othrys, joining to Pelion on the east, and the ridges of Pindus on the west, completely encompasses the country drained by the Peneus. This last river, augmented by five others, which traverse the same plain, finds a passage, namely, the celebrated defiles of Tempe, through which it pours its water into the Archipelago, or the Gulph of Salonica. These defiles form therefore a great feature, not merely in the geography of Greece, but in the physical geography of the earth, as phenomena of the same kind do but rarely occur. The ancients, though their attention to natural appearances was not much sharpened by scientific views, were greatly struck with the peculiarity of the discharge, which na-

ture had thus provided for the waters of the Peneus. Tempe has been a favourite theme with the poets and historians, both of Greece and Rome; and Ælian, in particular, has given a full and elaborate description of it, which is confirmed by modern travellers in its principal features. No doubt seems to remain, that the great valley of Thessaly was once the bottom of a lake; and this appears so natural a conclusion from the facts, that it was the general belief of antiquity. Our author has described the appearance of the defiles, and the impression which they made.

‘The sun had already set before we reached the opening of Tempe; and we saw, through the shades of the evening, the precipitous outline of cliffs and lofty eminences approaching each other, and gradually contracting the width of the valley. There is an extreme beauty in the scenery which is thus intermediate between the plains of Thessaly and the rocky defiles forming the interior of the pass. It is wild and irregular, and abounding in rocky eminences, but without harshness, from the luxuriance of foliage and the softness of the valleys which intervene. The river pursues a tranquil course in the bottom of the valley, flowing under the shade of plane trees, and here and there encircling some little islet covered with wood.’

On the south side of the river, among the heights near the western extremity, is situated the town of Amphiloehia, where they passed the night. The next day was unfavourable for the survey of the pass; but it was necessary to proceed.

‘From the heights of Amphiloehia, we descended slowly into the valley, reaching the banks of the river where it enters the deep ravine which conducts it towards the sea. Looking generally at the narrowness and abruptness of this mountain channel, the imagination instantly recurs to the tradition which mentions its being once covered with water, for which some convulsion of nature had subsequently opened this narrow passage. The term *valle*, usually applied to Tempe, is wholly inapplicable. The real character of Tempe, though it perhaps be less beautiful, yet possesses more of magnificence than is implied in the epithet given to it. The features of nature are often best described by comparison; and to those who have visited St Vincent’s Rocks, below Bristol, I cannot convey a better idea of Tempe, than by saying that its scenery resembles, though on a much larger scale, that of the former place. The Peneus, indeed, as it flows through the valley, is not greatly wider than the Avon; but the cliffs of Tempe are much loftier, and more precipitous.’

‘The length of this remarkable gulf is nearly five miles, the same as stated by antient writers; its direction in all this distance varying but little from a straight line. Its breadth is varied by the projection or recession of the cliffs; but there are places in which the bed of the river occupies the whole space between the rocks, and where the breadth from cliff to cliff cannot exceed 200 feet, and possibly

may be still less.\* Throughout a great part of the extent of Tempe, the road is carried over and along the ridges of the cliffs, sometimes seeming to overhang the river, and then receding, to seek a passage across the ravines which descend from the mountains.'

It was only from conjecture that Dr HOLLAND could judge of the height of the rocks which bound this pass on either side. Those on the north side, about the middle of the pass, he conceives to be the highest, and to be from 600 to 800 feet above the level of the river. The rocks on each side of the valley are evidently the same; a coarse marble of a bluish-grey colour, with veins and portions of the rock, in which the marble is of a finer quality.

'The front of the cliffs has a general appearance, to which the term shattered may well be applied; long fissures, both horizontal and perpendicular, traversing the rock. In many places large caves are hollowed out in the rock; and, though it would be too much to affirm, from the character of the cliffs, that there is proof of this defile having been formed by a sudden and violent natural convulsion, yet the general appearance, as already remarked, might certainly warrant some belief in the traditionary record of this event, which we have from so many antient writers. Herodotus makes mention of the belief common in Thessaly, that Neptune had opened this passage to carry off the waters; and gives it as his own opinion, that the separation of the mountains had been effected by an earthquake.'

Notwithstanding our respect for Dr HOLLAND's opinion, we cannot help thinking it more probable, that this great opening is the work of the Peneus itself. The authority of the tradition must go for nothing; the operation of an earthquake was naturally enough suggested by the appearances, to men who looked only at the object before them; it was the most obvious way of explaining the phenomena; and, from being an opinion, would readily pass into a traditionary fact, as has happened in a thousand other instances. Indeed, if the convulsion which drained the lake had ever happened, it must have been so long before the country was inhabited, that no memory of it could exist. As to the reality of the great lake which once covered the plains of Thessaly, we entertain no doubt whatever; but we must then ask of HERODOTUS and Dr HOLLAND, what the waters of the lake did before the earthquake came to their assistance? As much water, it is evident, must always have run out of the lake as run into it, otherwise it would have continued to increase. The waters, therefore, must have found an issue at the lowest part of the great rampart of mountains, which

\* *Ælian* states the least breadth at a plethrum, not much more than 100 feet.

has been described as encompassing this extraordinary plain ; and this was probably at the gorge which united the mountains *c.* Olympus and Ossa to one another. The flowing of a great body of water over rugged and precipitous rocks, and working on materials not of the hardest kind, would cut out a channel by degrees ; and the Peneus, after foaming for ages from rock to rock, and precipitating itself from one cascade to another, has long since made a smooth passage, through which it pours its deep and tranquil stream into the gulph of Salonica.

This might appear a bold and unreasonable supposition, if we looked only to the defiles of Tempe. But when we consider that these defiles, like the gates of the Missouri, are only an extreme case of a great class of appearances, for which in their ordinary condition the interposition of an earthquake is never once thought necessary, the matter will appear in a different light. Dr HOLLAND compares the defiles through which the Peneus flows, to those through which the Avon makes its way into the Severn ; but we will venture to say, that it never once entered into his mind to consider these last as the effects of any natural convulsion. The lateral torrents from Olympus and Ossa, which appear both from ancient and modern descriptions, to be precipitate and numerous, would be powerful auxiliaries to the Peneus, in executing the great work which Nature had thus assigned it.

But we must not take leave of Thessaly, without noticing what relates to our author's stay at Larissa, the capital of that country, and to his interview with VELI PASHA. Larissa is a town, containing at present not more than 20,000 inhabitants ; the internal appearance of it is mean and irregular ; and there is a general indication of wretchedness in the houses and their inhabitants. The only striking feature, is the situation on the banks of the Salympria, which is here a broad and deep stream, and its banks covered with wood.

The Pasha had appointed the residence of the travellers in the house of the Archbishop POLICARP, an Albanian by birth, and the only one of that people who, in modern times, has attained the metropolitan dignity. The archbishopric of Larissa is one of the most valuable in the Greek Church : nine bishoprics are included under the diocese ; and its gross revenue was stated about 9000*l.* *per annum.*

The day after their arrival, they were admitted to an audience of the Pasha, whom they found in the Seraglio, accompanied by a guard of Albanian soldiers. Having read the letter from his father, he expressed, in a courteous manner, his satisfaction at seeing the travellers at Larissa. He spoke of the

pleasure he always had in meeting individuals of the English nation, whom he considered as his friends; and mentioned the names of several who visited Tripolitza during his residence there as governor of the Morea. He afterwards conversed for some time on politics, and chiefly on the campaign of the French in Russia, a subject which evidently interested him much, as it had done his father, and the more from his having been personally engaged against the Russians on the Danube, little more than a year before. He then began to talk of his complaints; observed with some chagrin that there had been a difference of opinion among his physicians concerning them, and requested of Dr HOLLAND to take them under consideration. He urged him to continue his stay at Larissa as long as possible, and offered the use of his carriage to assist him in surveying the neighbourhood of the city. His manner, throughout the whole of the interview, preserved the same tone of politeness; he had evidently formed it, in part at least, on the European model, which his situation had given him more opportunity of studying than is common among his countrymen. In his smile there was something of gracefulness, which strangely contrasted with the loud and vehement laugh of Ali Pasha; and in all his movements, a species of refinement which would be striking even though it did not so remarkably differ from the ordinary manner of a Turkish grandee.

Though brought up amidst his father's wars, and in the view of his despotic government, VELI has acquired the reputation of humanity, and it was remarked that during his government of the Morea, the number of executions in that province was much smaller than at any preceding period. He is the only Turk who has ever shown any taste for antiquarian knowledge, or for the models of art contained in the country around him. In one of his journeys from the Morea to Thessaly, he actually turned aside to visit the ruins at Athens. He pitched his tents without the city, and desired that he might be considered as *enas Miltordos* come to look at the curiosities of the place. He ascended the Acropolis; surveyed all that remains of antient Athens; conducted himself with much politeness; and when he had done, quietly pursued his journey. The like was never performed, we believe, by any of the Turkish nation; and is a strong proof that even the hard and insensible character of that people is beginning to feel the progress of improvement.

In the evening of the same day, after they had dined with the Archbishop and two Greek physicians VELARA and LUCAS, the carriage of the Pasha, drawn by six piebald horses, drove

up; and a soldier came to inform them, that the Vizier had sent it in compliance with his promise of the morning.

‘ We set out therefore, and were conveyed over the Peneus to the great plain which extends in that direction as far as the foot of Olympus. A Musulman coachman sat on the box, and a Greek postillion drove the fore horses. Wherever the ground admitted of it, we proceeded with great rapidity, the horses being generally kept on a canter or gallop. Traversing thus the plains of ancient Thessaly, in the carriage of a Turkish Pasha,—Olympus before us; Ossa on the right hand, and the Peneus winding through the plain, and approaching the defiles of Tempe; there was an impression upon the mind, from the character and combination of these objects, which may more easily be conceived than defined.’

It is not often indeed, that things which bring together in one view, the ancient and modern state of these classical regions, harmonize so well with one another.

The time of the English travellers was very agreeably passed in the house of the Archbishop, and in company with the Greek physicians VILARA and LUCAS.

‘ The former of these, a native of Ioannina, discovered, in his conversation, a very superior and masculine understanding; all whose remarks bore a character of deep and habitual thought, and of extensive knowledge, rendered more impressive by a cast of stoical and contemptuous humour, the offspring perhaps of natural vivacity suppressed by situation, and of ambition disappointed by the events of life. Conversing on the character of the modern Greeks, they are a people, said he, with whom self-interest has the first place, religion the second. He complained of the weakness and submissiveness of his countrymen, and of the neglect which they experienced from the civilized nations of Europe. He described the present political sentiments of the Greeks as divided into three classes, all seeking a change of condition, but in different ways. The insular and commercial Greeks attached themselves to the idea of liberation through England; a second party, in which he included many of the men of learning and the continental merchants, looked to the power then existing in France as a more probable means of deliverance; while the lower classes, and those most attached to their national religion, were anxious to have the Russians for their deliverers. The discussion of these opinions led to a long argument upon the comparative merits of the ancient Greeks, and the civilized nations of modern Europe; in the progress of which Vilara showed an accurate understanding of the ancient authors, and a strong and enthusiastic feeling for the former glories of his country. The occasional reference from these topics to the present degradation of Greece, was made with a mixed tone of melancholy and satire; which illustrated the character of the man, and did not ill accord with the nature of the subject.’

‘ This learned Greek is well instructed, both in physical and metaphysical science. He has the repute of being the first botanist in Greece ; and his knowledge of the progress of chemistry, I found to extend to as late a period as the discovery of the metallic bases of the alkalis ; on which subject, and on others connected with chemical science, he put many questions, accompanied with very ingenious remarks. It appeared, that he had thought much on the various topics in metaphysics and morals ; and his conversation on those subjects had the same tone of satirical scepticism which seemed the general feature of his opinions. We spoke of the questions of *Materialism* and *Necessity* : on both which points, after some remarks, which showed him intimate with the history and merits of those controversies, he declared an affirmative opinion. His poetical talent is not inferior to his attainments in literature and science ; and though I know of nothing which he has hitherto published, the merit of some manuscript pieces of Romaic poetry has procured him much reputation among his countrymen. I had an occasion of noticing his poetical facility, in giving him one or two passages of English poetry, through the medium of the Italian, which a very few minutes sufficed to restore to us in Romaic verse.’

‘ In conversation on these important topics, the stoical humour of Velara would sometimes pass into an air of loftiness and pride, which might better have suited the old times of Grecian liberty, than her days of modern degradation. As a part of this character, I observed in him a studied indifference to the condition and progress of other countries ; and little expression of interest in the anecdotes which conversation suggested on these subjects. With the exception of some questions on the state of medicine and chemistry in England, he made few inquiries, and seemed studiously to repress any movement of curiosity. The same feeling, though in a less degree, I have observed in several other Greeks of literary character ; and I can only ascribe it to a certain mixture of pride and shame, with which they regard the fortunes of their country.’

Dr HOLLAND makes an apology for entering into so much personal detail concerning this distinguished Greek ; but, in our opinion, he required none ; the circumstances are abundantly interesting. Velara is a man worthy to represent the philosophers of ancient Greece ; and a person, in whom the character of the modern Greeks is distinctly and strongly brought out. He recalls a reflection which, to every one acquainted with the history of these countries, must have but too often occurred, that the dominion of fortune has seldom been more cruelly exercised, than when it condemned to servitude and oppression the posterity of those men who instructed and civilized the world.

From what has been said above, it appears, that it is to the West of Europe that the Greeks look for deliverance from



oppression; and that they complain of the little regard they meet with from that quarter, and of the feeble sympathy which their suffering excites in the nations which owe so much to their ancestors. It is perhaps very natural, that men in their situation should see the matter in this light; but, alas, they do not consider how few instances there are in the history of the world, of war, though the favourite pastime of the human race, being ever undertaken for purposes completely generous and disinterested. It is often undertaken from the most frivolous and unworthy motives; from ambition, revenge, avarice, fanaticism, nay, even fear and prejudice of every kind; but of a war made for a cause purely benevolent, for the relief of the oppressed, for the liberation of the prisoner, or the emancipation of the slave, we fear that the annals of the human race can supply no precedent. It is rare even to see a nation interfere, not by arms, but by its influence and authority, merely in the cause of humanity, and where its own interest is in no way concerned. The Romans, indeed, are said to have entered into a treaty with the Carthaginians, in which it was made an article, that the latter should abstain from offering human sacrifices to their gods; and Great Britain has abolished the trade in slaves, and has enacted, that the prosecution of such trade shall be punished with death. We know not that the history of the world affords any examples of national conduct purely disinterested, except these two; not that we consider them as at all of equal merit, that of Britain being incomparably the most so, because, to accomplish the object, there were great difficulties to be overcome, and great sacrifices to be made. It is an act of justice and disinterested rectitude which does more honour to the country than the most splendid victories.

If, however, such interferences are so rare, there is but little reason to hope that the liberation of Greece can arise from motives of pure generosity and disinterestedness; but it is of human nature, rather than of the disposition of their neighbours, that the Greeks have to complain.

But may not interest or ambition do what generosity alone is too weak or too inactive to perform? The Greeks, who, as VELARA stated, turned their eyes to the late Government of France, must have founded their hopes on something of this kind; and indeed, when a mind of such energy, and so little governed by the ordinary maxims of policy as that of the late Ruler of France, had the command of a great and warlike nation, the destruction of the Turkish government, and, of course, the liberation of Greece, were by no means improbable events. The

restless ambition of the capricious despot, which was so dangerous to the West, might have proved beneficial to the East; and there is no doubt that, had it been successful in Russia, an attack would have been made on the Porte, which its infirm and crazy fabric would have found it difficult to resist. To Greece this hope has vanished; and the same wonderful catastrophe which has quieted the fears of one side of Europe, has extinguished the expectations of the other. In what light are the new arrangements which have followed that catastrophe likely to appear to those who look on them from the unhappy situation in which the Greeks are placed? A combination of many Sovereigns for restraining the exorbitant power of one, and for securing the peace and independence of nations, must, in itself, be an object highly gratifying to the oppressed and suffering of every country. But we are not sure that an examination of the detail, will lead to conclusions equally consolatory. The partition and dismemberment of kingdoms, without regard to the will or welfare of the people; the taking away of a part from one state, and uniting it to another, merely to punish this Sovereign and reward that, while the men who inhabit the territory are no more considered than the flocks and herds that feed in it; the recognizing of such a measure by the minister of the Government which, in all Europe, is the most free, and supposed to be most concerned about the freedom of others; and, finally, the Sovereign of a great country, under the protection of the Allied armies, assembling a national council, the mere creature of his influence, and organizing a constitution, the mere instrument of his power;—the sight of all this can give no comfort to the friends of liberty and the enemies of oppression, either in the East or in the West. If we add to this, the restoration of so many of the old Sovereigns in governments where the abuses are most manifest, without any article interposed for the benefit of the people, it must remain doubtful whether the above combination had it more for an object to establish the balance and tranquillity of Europe, than to give practical efficacy to the doctrine of indefeasible and hereditary right. This principle may have its application one day to Greece itself; and if any unforeseen event shall bring about the destruction of the Turkish government, the restoration, not of the Athenian or Spartan republics, but of the Greek empire, will be attempted; and, while an ‘Arcadius or a Honorius is slumbering on the throne of the Bourbons,’ a descendant of the Constantines, born in servitude, may be able to wield the sceptre which was too weighty for the *Porphyrogéniti* of former times.

After leaving Thessaly, our travellers went by sea to Salonica, at the bottom of the bay of the same name, the antient Thessalonica, and the capital of Macedonia. Of their observations in that city, our limits oblige us to confine ourselves to the statement of the trade carried on over land from thence to the banks of the Danube. The late emperor of France having succeeded in shutting the ports of most of the countries of Europe against English manufactures and Colonial produce, those, and particularly the latter, found their way in the direction just mentioned to the north of Europe.

Their journey, it is remarked, in length and difficulty is inferior to those performed by the caravans of the East; but it is interesting from its novelty in the Western world, and from the proof it affords that the industry of men has resources which cannot always be exhausted even by the folly and injustice of their rulers. There are different routes by which goods are transported from Macedonia into the Austrian dominions; but the best is through Bulgaria by Widin and Ossovo, where it enters the Austrian territory, and is thence continued through the Banat by Temiswar, Pest, Raab to Vienna. The goods landed at Salonica are made up in packages of one and a quarter hundred weight, and two of these are the load of a horse. The cavalcades for this inland journey consist often of 200 or 300, and sometimes of 1000 horses. The property so transported, at a moderate estimate might be worth 30,000*l.* on its arrival in Germany. The time occupied between Salonica and Vienna, was in general 35 days, exclusive of the quarantine at Ossovo, which sometimes took place. The cavalcades usually travel 8 hours in the 24; a man is generally allowed for every five horses, besides the guards who watch over the security of the whole. As far down as the close of 1812, no predatory attempt had been made upon these caravans, nor any material loss sustained by pillage during this long journey; a circumstance that does no small honour to the police of Turkey. In their passage through the Turkish dominions, the goods were subject to various duties paid to the Pashas, and other local authorities, which, though in general small, were in a few places very considerable. It was estimated that the total expense of the transportation of sugar and coffee to Vienna, was about cent per cent on the import value at Salonica. It was found necessary, in carrying on this trade, to send specie from Germany sufficient to pay the transit expenses of the goods, no house at Salonica being able to afford this sort of accommodation.

Dr HOLLAND, in his voyage from Salonica to the southern parts of Greece, landed in the Gulph of Volo, at the southern

point of Thessaly, and nearly opposite to Eubœa. Amphiloehia is one of the principal towns, and afforded matter of much interesting observation. Much of the modern literature of Greece is deduced from this quarter; Anthimus Gazi, well known at Vienna, is from this neighbourhood. He published, in 1799, in the Romaic language, the Philosophical Grammar of our countryman Benjamin Martin. Cavra, a physician of Amphiloehia, has translated the Arithmetic and Algebra of Euler, and also the Abbé Milot's Elements of History. An author, from nearly the same place, has published translations of La Lande's Astronomy, and the Logic of Condillac. Velestino, a town near Volo, is the birth-place of Rega, a Greek whose memory is endeared to his countrymen, as well by his writings as by the fate he met with while labouring for the liberty of his country. His active zeal at the time of the French Revolution procured him enemies; and he was waylaid and murdered near Belgrade. Besides many patriotic songs and ballads, he translated several works from the French and German into his native language. His friend Coronius, who was murdered at the same time, was the author of Greek translations of the death of Abel, of the Galatea of Florian, &c. It were to be desired, that Dr HOLLAND had entered into some more detail concerning the death and transactions of Rega. It was no wonder if the spirit of the French Revolution should communicate itself so readily to men in the situation of the oppressed Greeks, and should have hurried them into conduct, which, though perfectly just in principle, might, in practice, be highly inexpedient.

The rocks on the side of the Gulph of Volo are all primitive, consisting chiefly of marble, mica slate, talc slate, serpentine, &c. This gulph, it is to be remembered, is at the foot of Pelion on the north, and mount Othrys on the south. The asbestos and amianthus also abound in that vicinity.

From Zeitun, which is on the south side of Thessaly, and separated from the vale of the Peneus by the chain of Othrys, Dr HOLLAND travelled across the mountains to Larissa, in order to acquit himself of his promise of visiting Veli Pasha for a second time. In the course of this journey, when he first came in sight of Thessaly, he appears to have been greatly delighted by the beauty and extent of the landscape which was spread out before him.

'I know not, says he, that I have ever seen a landscape more singular and magnificent than that which was now before me. At the moment I arrived on the ridge, the sun was shining brightly on the plains beneath, producing an effect of greater indistinctness over the surface. It seemed like a vast lake; nor was there within a cir-

cumference of at least 150 miles, any elevation sufficient to destroy this resemblance. What is appearance now, may once have been reality; and it is impossible to look down upon this great basin, without giving faith to the tradition, that it was once covered with water. The impression is more forcible from this point of view, than from any other that I have seen.'

At this important entrance into Thessaly from the south, stood the ancient city of Thaumaci; and the extraordinary view from this spot has not escaped the notice of ancient writers; for Livy asserts, that the name of Thaumasi was given to the town on account of its wonderful situation. 'Ubi ventum ad hanc urbem est, repente, velut maris vasti sic immensa panditur planities, ut subjectos campos terminare oculis haud facile queas. Ab eo miraculo Thaumaci appellati.'

He passed a night in the small town of Pharsala, the ancient Pharsalia, at a Khan, where he supped and spent the evening in company with four or five Turks, the whole party sitting on mats round the fire.

'It was a curious groupe, and amusing to me as an exhibition of Turkish social intercourse. The characteristic taciturnity of the nation was shown in long pauses, which no one thought himself obliged to break, and which were in fact occupied by the assiduous smoking of all the party. When conversation occurred, it was carried on with a brevity of phrase which might have surpassed even that of the old Spartans, and with a perfect uniformity and sedateness of manner. The distinct enunciation of the Turks, and perhaps also the simplicity of the Turkish language, increase the effect of this peculiar conciseness; and if the epithet *philosophical* might be applied to manner alone, would almost, in this instance, warrant its use.'

In the second visit to Larissa, he passed an evening with Velara at his own house, and sat with him till a late hour. Their conversation turned on metaphysical topics, and chiefly on the old Pyrrhonic doctrine of the non-existence of matter.

'Velara took the sceptical side of the argument, and showed great ingenuity, and great knowledge of the more eminent controversialists on that and similar subjects. He was ignorant, however, of the writings of our countryman Bishop Berkeley, of which I gave him a slight sketch in what related to this topic. Of the name and philosophy of Hume, he was already informed.

'This,' says DR HOLLAND, 'is the last time of my seeing Velara; and it was with a feeling of no common regret that I left a man thus eminently endowed by nature and education, yet fated to loiter away his days in the dull and servile routine of a Turkish seraglio.'

The Doctor's Tour through Attica, though it contains many valuable and interesting particulars, we must pass over, in order to return with him a second time into Albania, where he

visited some districts, not before explored by any European traveller. He landed at Previsa, where he met the Pasha, and travelled to his capital, by the route of Suli, when he had an opportunity of visiting a wild and picturesque country, very little known.

‘ On the morning of the first of March, I set out on my journey for the mountains of Suli. The Visier appointed three guards to attend me; two of them Mussulman Albanians, and officers in his army; the third a Christian, but of inferior rank. On the second day, I reached a pass, where the river Suli, making a remarkable bend to the north, enters the magnificent region of the same name. The landscape here is singularly fine; and, from the place where I reached its banks, to the Castle of Suli, and the Plains of Paramithia, the scenery along its course is more singular than any other I have seen in Greece, striking as this country is in all its natural features.

‘ Crossing the river by a deep ford, where it makes this sudden turn to the north, I ascended the mountain on the eastern side of the pass or chasm which it now enters, and which is so much contracted by opposing cliffs, to the height of some hundred feet above the stream, that no access is possible, except along the higher ledges of its mountain boundary. The ascent was one of extreme difficulty, and some danger. Skirting under the summit of the mountain, upon narrow and broken ledges of rock, I came to a spot, where the interior of this profound chasm opened suddenly before me; vast, and almost perpendicular precipices, conducting the eye downwards to the dark line which the river forms in flowing beneath. The view from this place, I have never seen surpassed in grandeur,—if grandeur, indeed, be a word which expresses the peculiarity of the scenery: Not only its magnitude, but also the boldness and abruptness of all its forms; and a sort of sombre depth and obscurity in its features, to which it would not be easy to find a parallel. In one view you may trace the progress of the river for six or seven miles, between mountains, some of which are upwards of 3000 feet in height; their precipitous sides beginning to rise even from the edge of the water; their projecting cliffs and ledges covered with small oaks and brushwood; and higher up, where they recede further from the perpendicular line, retaining the same sombre character from the dark thickets and rows of pines which appear at intervals among the rocks.’

On looking down into this chasm, Dr HOLLAND'S impression was, that this must be the real Acheron of the antients; though a different opinion is entertained by some modern geographers. He thinks that the testimony of the antient authors is decisively in favour of this opinion; and that the extraordinary scenery of this place afforded a picture of the infernal regions, which had been adopted in the ancient mythology. The names of Acherusia and Acheron, were not limited to Epirus, though the lake

and river of this region were the most celebrated. Pausanias makes mention of one in Acherusia, near Corinth; Diodorus Siculus of one in Egypt; Strabo of one in Elis; and we learn from Pomponius Mela, that there was also one in Phrygia. That of Italy is well known.

‘ I continued my route along the valley I have described, on a rugged path, which winds through the rocks at the height of about 600 or 700 feet above the river. When advanced about four miles within the pass, we suddenly turned to the right, through a deep recess among the mountains. From this there seemed no egress; vast precipices, covered with pine, meet the eye on all sides; and no point seems accessible beyond that on which you stand at the moment.

‘ We now approached the great fortress or seraglio of Suli. On my entrance into the area of the seraglio, I was complimented by a salute of four cannon, and a volley of small arms; the reverberation of the sound from the mountains was wonderfully fine. Here I learned that the people of these mountains, who, from their wild and secluded situation, had acquired all the characters of a distinct tribe, inhabited ten or twelve large villages, the principal of which was about a mile distant from the modern seraglio. They were Albanians in origin, and retained the Christian religion, in a rudeness of form suited to the manner in which they lived. Their number probably never exceeded 12,000. The Suliote women partook the dangers of war with their husbands; and, at the fountains of Suli, the women settled the precedence in drawing water, by the valour which their husbands had displayed in the field. The bravery of the Suliots, however, was rather that of a band of robbers, than of men combined for the purposes of social life. They were the terror of all the south of Albania: and the descent of the Suliots from their mountains was a general signal of alarm. Suli itself was rarely approached, either by a friend or an enemy, and had never been subdued by the Turkish power in Albania. The ambitious spirit of Ali Pasha could not tolerate the vicinity of men who insulted his authority, and pursued their predatory excursions almost to the gates of his capital. For a long time they remained invincible; and the vizier finally accomplished his object by corrupting their principal leaders. His soldiers, thus aided, entered the villages of the Suli, who still continued to make a brave defence; some of them cutting their way through the troops of the Pasha; and many of them, even of the women, putting themselves to death, in order to escape the enemy. The anger of the Pasha was not to be satisfied, but by the total extinction of this brave and unfortunate race.

‘ The seraglio of Suli was built to command the newly conquered country; and its situation is perhaps hardly to be paralleled. From the great gallery, you look down a precipice, probably not less than 1000 feet in height, into the dark waters of the Acheron. On every side, is scenery of the wildest and most singular nature; the

mountains and precipices are on the greatest scale; and are thrown confusedly around, as if some other agency than the slow working of Nature had operated to produce these effects. The eye is perplexed by the vastness and intricacy of the scene, and requires time to select the objects on which it can repose.'

The whole groupe of the Sul mountains, as well as the rocks that form the eastern barrier of the valley, are composed of white conchoidal limestone, containing a great quantity of flint, which sometimes alternates in layers with the limestone, but, in other places, is found in nodules. These layers, which vary in thickness from a few lines to two or three inches, are sometimes well defined in their junction with the limestone. In other places, there is an apparent transition from the one to the other, or frequently a thin seam of oxide of iron, and decomposed earth. The nodules are generally much shattered, so as to break into small angular fragments with a slight blow of the hammer. In various parts of the cliffs, the limestone is exposed in a series of regular beds, in some places with a great inclination.

The Doctor made the best survey he could of the neighbouring country, by means, he says, of a sextant and compass, laying down the outline of the ground on paper as accurately as could be done from two or three points of view. Though he must have executed this measurement under great disadvantages, we have no doubt that it was very rightly and scientifically gone about; and we sincerely regret that these sketches, with maps of other parts of Albania, are among the papers which the Doctor lost or had stolen from him in the farther prosecution of his journey to the northern parts of this country.

From examining this singular tract, Dr HOLLAND made a second visit to the capital of Albania, and from thence travelled northward along the western shore, to a number of places in the same country, which had hardly been seen by any European. His most northerly point was Pollina (Apollonia), not far from the mouth of the *Viosa*. In the course of this excursion, into which we have not room to follow him, he passed by the ruins of Gardiki, a singular monument of the unrelenting cruelty and savage revenge of ALI PASHA, notwithstanding the indications we have seen in his conduct of a man at least half civilized. The inhabitants of that unfortunate town had, when ALI was very young, and, in company with his mother, flying from his enemies, treated them both, and particularly the latter, with great indignity. The remembrance of an affront given to a parent whom he loved and respected, never was effaced from the memory of ALI; and, at the distance of forty years, he put the inhabitants to the sword, without any distinction of sex or age. He collected them within an enclosure fenced round by a high wall,



when they were fired upon from all sides ; and the few who escaped the muskets, were cut to pieces by the swords of his soldiers : they were not suffered to be buried. The PASHA himself gave the signal for this horrible massacre, and seems to have considered it as a pious act, by which he discharged a duty to the memory of his mother.

We take leave, with pleasure, of such barbarians ; but, nevertheless, with regret of the humane and intelligent traveller from whose narrative we have made so many extracts. Of his judicious selection of the facts, and of the scenes to be described, we have already taken notice ; and, from his sentiments and opinions, we have seldom seen reason to dissent. On some parts of the composition of the work, we cannot bestow such entire commendation. The language appears to us less simple than is suited to works of this kind, and attempted to be kept up on a higher level than belongs to this species of composition. An easy and natural style, approaching to the epistolary, or even the colloquial, providing that vulgarity and coarseness are avoided, is that in which the narrative of a traveller appears to the greatest advantage. Simplicity and liveliness are indeed the two great qualities on which, as far as the mere composition is concerned, the popularity of every book of travels will be found to depend. The author of the work before us, aiming at a more elevated style than his narrative could easily support, has often been led away from what was most concise and simple, to seek for uncommon turns of expression, by which he has been sometimes led into improprieties, not unfrequently into obscurity, and, at the same time, into a greater diffuseness than was necessary. Abstract terms are frequently introduced, where others would have been more proper and more readily understood. The word *population*, for example, is constantly put for the people, or the inhabitants of a country ; whereas, it ought never to be employed but to denote the relation between the number of the inhabitants of any place, and the extent of the territory which they occupy. The word is so explained by DR JOHNSON, and is uniformly used in that sense, and no other, by the best writers. When it is said, ‘ the modern Greeks, like their ancestors, are fond of discriminating the peculiar character of the ‘ population,’ one would suppose, that the character of the population meant its nature, as great or small, dense or rare ; but it in fact means the character, moral and intellectual, of the *people* themselves.

We might mention some other improprieties into which the author has been betrayed by the same cause ; too great a love of novelty, and of variety of expression. These are faults, how-

ever, easily remedied, and, at any rate, of small account, when weighed against the good sense, accuracy, and candour, which seem all to belong to him in an eminent degree. The last mentioned quality, at all times so estimable, is more so than ever at the present moment, when the want of it is held up as a virtue, and when it is usual to measure a man's patriotism, and his attachment to his own country, by the contempt and dislike which he expresses for other nations.

ART. X. *Lives of Edward and John Philips, Nephews and Pupils of Milton, &c.* By WILLIAM GODWIN. 4to. Longman & Co. London.

THE public would have perhaps welcomed Mr Godwin's re-appearance as an author, most heartily, if he had chosen the part of a novelist. In that character his name is high, and and his eminence undisputed. The time is long past since this would have been thought a slight, or even secondary praise. No addition of more unquestionable value has been made by the moderns, to the treasures of literature inherited from antiquity, than those fictions which paint the manners and character of the body of mankind, and affect the reader by the relation of misfortunes which may befall himself. The English nation would have more to lose than any other, by undervaluing this species of composition. Richardson has perhaps lost, though unjustly, a part of his popularity at home; but he still contributes to support the fame of his country abroad. The small blemishes of his diction are lost in translation. The changes of English manners, and the occasional homeliness of some of his representations, are unfelt by foreigners. Fielding will for ever remain the delight of his country, and will always retain his place in the library of Europe, notwithstanding that unfortunate grossness which is the mark of an uncultivated taste, and which, if not yet entirely excluded from conversation, has been for some time banished from our writings, where, during the best age of national genius, it prevailed more than in those of any other polished nation.

It is impossible, in a Scottish journal, to omit Smollett, even if there had not been much better reasons for the mention of his name, than for the sake of observing, that he and Arbuthnot are sufficient to rescue Scotland from the imputation of wanting talent for pleasantry; though, it must be owned, that we are a grave people, happily educated under an austere system of morals; possessing, perhaps, some humour, in our pecu-

liar dialect, but fearful of taking the liberty of jesting in a foreign language like the English; prone to abstruse speculation, to vehement dispute, to eagerness in the pursuits of business and ambition, and to all those intent occupations of mind which rather indispose it to unbend in easy playfulness.

Since the beautiful tales of Goldsmith and Mackenzie, the composition of novels has been almost left to women; and, in the distribution of literary labour, nothing seems more natural, than that, as soon as the talents of women are sufficiently cultivated, this task should be assigned to the sex which has most leisure for the delicate observation of manners, and whose importance depends on the sentiments which most usually chequer common life with poetical incidents. They have performed their part with such signal success, that the literary works of women, instead of the humiliating praise of being gazed at as wonders and prodigies, have, for the first time, composed a considerable part of the reputation of an ingenious nation in a lettered age. It ought to be added, that their delicacy, cooperating with the progress of refinement, has contributed to efface from these important fictions, the remains of barbarism which had disgraced the vigorous genius of our ancestors.

Mr Godwin has preserved the place of men in this branch of literature. *Caleb Williams* is probably the finest novel produced by a man—at least since the *Vicar of Wakefield*. The sentiments, if not the opinions, from which it arose, were transient. Local usages and institutions were the subjects of its satire, exaggerated beyond the usual privilege of that species of writing. Yet it has been translated into most languages, and it has appeared in various forms, on the theatres, not only of England, but of France and Germany. There is scarcely a continental circulating library in which it is not one of the books which most quickly require to be replaced. Though written with a temporary purpose, it will be read with intense interest, and with a painful impatience for the issue, long after the circumstance which produced its original composition shall cease to be known but to those who are well read in history. There is scarcely a fiction in any language which it is so difficult to lay by. A young person of understanding and sensibility, not familiar with the history of its origin, nor forewarned of its connexion with peculiar opinions, in whose hands it is now put for the first time, will peruse it with perhaps more ardent sympathy and trembling curiosity, than those who read it when their attention was divided, and their feelings disturbed by controversy and speculation. A building thrown up for a season, has become, by the skill of the builder, a durable edifice. It is a striking,

but not a solitary example, of the purpose of the writer being swallowed up by the interest of the work ; of a man of ability intending to take part in the disputes of the moment, but led by the instinct of his talent to address himself to the permanent feelings of human nature. It must not, however, be denied, that the marks of temporary origin and peculiar opinion, are still the vulnerable part of the book. A fiction contrived to support an opinion, is a vicious composition. Even a fiction contrived to enforce a maxim of conduct, is not of the highest class. And though the vigorous powers of Mr Godwin raised him above his own intention, still the marks of that intention ought to be effaced as marks of mortality, and nothing ought to remain in the book which will not always interest the reader. The passages which betray the metaphysician more than the novelist, ought to be weeded out with more than ordinary care. The character of Falkland is a beautiful invention. That such a man could have become an assassin, is perhaps an improbability ; and if such a crime be possible for a soul so elevated, it may be due to the dignity of human nature to throw a veil over so humiliating a possibility, except when we are compelled to expose it by its real occurrence. In a merely literary view, however, the improbability of this leading incident is more than compensated, by all those agitating and terrible scenes of which it is the parent. And if the colours had been delicately shaded, if all the steps in the long progress from chivalry to assassination had been more patiently traced, and more distinctly brought into view, more might have been lost by weakening the contrast, than would have been gained by softening or removing the improbability. The character of Tyrrel, is a grosser exaggeration ; and his conduct is such as neither our manners would produce, nor our laws tolerate. One or two monstrous examples of tyranny, nursed and armed by immense wealth, are no authority for fiction, which is a picture of general nature. The descriptive power of several parts of this novel is of the highest order. The landscape in the morning of Caleb's escape from prison, and a similar escape from a Spanish prison in St Leon, are among the scenes of fiction which must the most frequently and vividly reappear in the imagination of a reader of sensibility. His disguises and escapes in London, though detailed at too great length, have a frightful reality, perhaps nowhere paralleled in our language, unless it be in some paintings of Daniel De Foe, \* with whom

---

\* A great grandson of Daniel De Foe, of the same name, is now a creditable tradesman in Hungerford Market in London. His manners give a favourable impression of his sense and morals. He is neither unconscious of his ancestor's fame, nor ostentatious of it.

it is distinction to bear comparison. There are several somewhat similar scenes in the *Colonel Jack* of that admirable writer, which, among his novels, is indeed only the second; but which could be second to none but Robinson Crusoe, one of those very few books which are equally popular in every country of Europe, and which delight every reader from the philosopher to the child. Caleb Williams resembles the novels of De Foe, in the austerity with which it rejects the agency of women and the power of love.

It would be affectation to pass over in silence so remarkable a work as the *Inquiry into Political Justice*; but it is not the time to say much of it. The season of controversy is past, and the period of history is not yet arrived. Whatever may be its mistakes, which we shall be the last to underrate, it is certain that works in which errors equally dangerous are maintained with far less ingenuity, have obtained for their authors a conspicuous place in the philosophical history of the eighteenth century. But books, as well as men, are subject to what is called fortune. The same circumstances which favoured its sudden popularity, have since unduly depressed its reputation. Had it appeared in a metaphysical age, and in a period of tranquillity, it would have been discussed by philosophers, and might have excited acrimonious disputes; but they would have ended, after the correction of erroneous speculations, in assigning to the author that station to which his eminent talents entitled him. It would soon have been acknowledged, that the author of one of the most deeply interesting fictions of his age, and of a treatise on metaphysical morals which excited general alarm, whatever else he might be, must be a person of vigorous and versatile powers. But the circumstances of the times, in spite of the author's intention, transmuted a philosophical treatise into a political pamphlet. It seemed to be thrown up by the vortex of the French Revolution, and it sunk accordingly as that whirlpool subsided; while by a perverse fortune, the honesty of the author's intentions contributed to the prejudice against his work. With the simplicity and good faith of a retired speculator, conscious of no object but the pursuit of truth, he followed his reasonings wherever they seemed to him to lead, without looking up to examine the array of sentiment and institution, as well as of interest and prejudice, which he was about to encounter. Intending no mischief, he considered no consequences; and, in the eye of the multitude, was transformed into an incendiary, only because he was an undesigning speculator. The ordinary clamour was excited against him: Even the liberal sacrificed him to the character of liberality,—a fate not very uncommon for those who, in critical times, are supposed to go too far: And many of his own

disciples, returning into the world, and, as usual, rebounding most violently from their visions, to the grossest worldly-mindedness, offered the fame of their master as an atonement for their own faults. For a time it required courage to brave the prejudice excited by its name. It may even now perhaps need some fortitude of a different kind to write, though in the most impartial temper, the small fragment of literary history which relates to it. The moment for doing full and exact justice will come.

All observation on the personal conduct of a writer, when that conduct is not of a public nature, is of dangerous example; and, when it leads to blame, it is severely reprehensible. But it is but common justice to say, that there are few instances of more respectable conduct among writers, than is apparent in the subsequent works of Mr Godwin. He calmly corrected what appeared to him to be his own mistakes; and he proved the perfect disinterestedness of his corrections, by adhering to opinions as obnoxious to the powerful as those which he relinquished. Untempted by the success of his scholars in paying their court to the dispensers of favour, he adhered to the old and rational principles of liberty, violently shaken as these venerable principles had been, by the tempest which had beaten down the neighbouring erections of anarchy. He continued to seek independence and reputation, with that various success to which the fashions of literature subject professed writers; and to struggle with the difficulties incident to other modes of industry, for which his previous habits had not prepared him. He has thus, in our humble opinion, deserved the respect of all those, whatever may be their opinions, who still wish that some men in England may think for themselves, even at the risk of thinking wrong; but more especially of the Friends of Liberty, to whose cause he has courageously adhered.

The work before us, is a contribution to the literary history of the seventeenth century. It arose from that well grounded reverence for the morality, as well as the genius, of Milton, which gives importance to every circumstance connected with him. After all that had been written about him, it appeared to Mr Godwin, that there was still an unapproached point of view, from which Milton's character might be surveyed,—the history of those Nephews to whom he had been a preceptor and a father. ‘It was accident,’ he tells us, ‘that first threw  
‘in my way two or three productions of these writers, that my  
‘literary acquaintance,\* whom I consulted, had never heard

---

\* This plural use of ‘acquaintance,’ is no doubt abundantly warranted by the example of Dryden, the highest authority in a case

‘ of. Dr Johnson had told me, that the pupils of Milton had given to the world “ only one genuine production.” Persons better informed than Dr Johnson, could tell me perhaps of half a dozen. How great was my surprise, when I found my collection swelling to forty or fifty !’ Chiefly from these publications, but from a considerable variety of little known sources, he has collected, with singular industry, all the notices, generally incidental, concerning these two persons, which are scattered over the writings of their age.

Their lives are not only interesting as a fragment of the history of Milton, but curious as a specimen of the condition of professed authors in the seventeenth century. If they had been either men of genius, or contemptible scribblers, they would not in either case have been fair specimens of their class. Dryden and Flecknoe are equally exceptions. The nephews of Milton belonged to that large body of literary men who are destined to minister to the general curiosity ; to keep up the stock of public information ; to compile, to abridge, to translate ;—a body of importance in a great country—being necessary to maintain, though they cannot advance, its literature. The degree of good sense, good taste, and sound opinions diffused among this class of writers, is of no small moment to the public reason and morals ; and we know not where we should find so exact a representation of the literary life of two authors, of the period between the Restoration and the Revolution, as in this volume. The complaint, that the details are too multiplied and minute for the importance of the subject, will be ungracious in an age distinguished by a passion for bibliography, and a voracious appetite for anecdote. It cannot be denied, that great acuteness is shown in assembling and weighing all the very minute circumstances, from which their history must often be rather conjectured than inferred. It may appear singular, that we, in this speculative part of the island, should consider the digressions from biography, and the passages of general speculation, as the part of the work which might, with the greatest advantage, be retrenched : But they are certainly episodes too large for the action, and have sometimes the air of openings of chapters in an intended history of England. These two faults, of digressions too expanded, and details too minute,

of diction, of any single English writer. But as the usage is divided, the convenience of distinguishing the plural from the singular at first sight seems to determine, that the preferable plural is ‘ acquaintances.’ The cause of the anomaly is, that the word in the other sense has no plural. The ordinary plural termination, therefore, was sharp to the ear.

are the principal defects of the volume; which must be considered hereafter as a necessary part of all collections respecting the biography of Milton.

Edward and John Philips were the sons of Edward Philips of Shrewsbury, secondary of the Crown Office in the Court of Chancery, by Anne Milton his wife, sister of John Milton. Edward was born in London in 1630, and John in 1631. To this sister the first original English verses of Milton were addressed, which he composed before the age of seventeen, to sooth her sorrow for the loss of an infant son. His first published verses are the Epitaph on Shakespeare. To perform the offices of domestic tenderness, and to render due honour to kindred genius, were the noble purposes by which he consecrated his poetical power at the opening of a life, of which every moment corresponded to this early promise. On his return from his travels, he found his nephews, by the death of their father, become orphans. He took them into his house; he supported and educated them, which he was enabled to do by the recompense which he received for the instruction of other pupils; and for this act of respectable industry and generous affection, in thus remembering the humblest claims of prudence and kindness amidst the lofty ambition and sublime contemplations of his mature powers, he has been sneered at by a moralist, in a work which, being a system of our poetical biography, ought especially to have recommended this most moral example to the imitation of the British youth.

John, the second of his nephews, published very early a vindication of his uncle's defence of the people of England. But both, in a very few years weary of the austere morals of the Republicans, quitted the party of Milton, and adopted the politics, with the wit and festivity of the young Cavaliers. But the elder, a person of gentle disposition and amiable manners, more a man of letters than a politician, retained at least due reverence and gratitude for his benefactor, and is conjectured by Mr Godwin, upon grounds that do not seem improbable, to have contributed to save his uncle at the Restoration. Twenty years after the death of Milton, the first life of him was published by Edward Philips, upon which all succeeding narratives have been built. This *Theatrum Poetarum* will be always read with interest, as containing the opinions concerning poetry and poets, which he probably imbibed from Milton. This amiable writer died between 1694 and 1698.

John Philips, a coarse buffoon, and a vulgar debauchee, was, throughout life, chiefly a political pamphleteer, who turned with every change of fortune and breath of popular clamour,



but on all sides preserved a consistency in violence, scurrility, and servility to his masters, whether they were the favourites of the Court, or the leaders of the rabble. Having cried out for the blood of his former friends at the Restoration, he insulted the memory of Milton, within two years of his death. He adhered to the cause of Charles the Second, till it became unpopular; and disgraced the name of *Whig*, by adopting that denomination, then new, of the Friends of Liberty, when he associated with the atrocious Titus Oates; and in his vindication of that execrable wretch, he adopts that excellent maxim, 'that the attestations of a hundred Catholics cannot be put in balance with the oath of one Protestant,' which, if our own party were substituted for Protestant, and the opposite party for Catholic, might be regarded as the general principle of the jurisprudence of most triumphant factions. He was silenced, or driven to literary compilation, by those fatal events in 1683, which seemed to be the final triumph of the Court over public liberty. His servile voice, however, hailed the Accession of James the Second. The Revolution produced a new turn of this weathercock; and, happily for the kingdom, no second Restoration gave occasion to another display of his inconstancy. In 1681 he was the associate of Oates, and the tool of Shaftesbury. In 1685 he thus addresses James the Second in doggrel scurrility—

'Must the Faith's true Defender bleed to death,  
A sacrifice to *Cooper's* wrath?'

In 1695 he took a part in that vast mass of bad verse occasioned by the death of Queen Mary; and in 1697 he celebrated King William as *Augustus Britannicus*, in a poem on the Peace of Ryswick. From the Revolution to his death about 1704, he was usefully employed as editor of the *Monthly Mercury*, a journal which was wholly, or principally, a translation from '*Le Mercure Historique*,' published at the Hague by some of those ingenious and excellent Protestant refugees, whose writings contributed to excite all Europe against Louis XIV. Mr Godwin at last, very naturally, a little relent towards John Philips. He is unwilling to part on bad terms with him who has been so long a companion. But all that indulgent ingenuity can discover in his favour is, that he was an indefatigable writer, and that, during his last years, he rested, after so many vibrations, in the opinions of a constitutional Whig. But, in a man like John Philips, the latter circumstance is only one of the signs of the times; and proves no more than that the principles of English liberty were patronized by a Government which owed to these principles its existence.

The above is a very slight sketch of the lives of these two persons, which Mr Godwin, with equal patience and acuteness of research, has gleaned from publications, of which it required a much more than ordinary familiarity with the literature of the last century even to know the existence. It is somewhat singular, that no inquiries seem to have been made respecting the history of the descendants of his brother Sir Christopher Milton, and that it has not been ascertained whether either of his nephews left children. Thomas Milton, the son of Sir Christopher, was, it seems, Secondary of the Crown-Office in Chancery; and it could not be very difficult for a resident in London to ascertain the period of his death, and perhaps to discover his residence and the state of his family. Milton's direct descendants can only exist, if they exist at all, among the posterity of his youngest and favourite daughter Deborah, afterwards Mrs Clarke, a woman of cultivated understanding, and not unpleasing manners, known to Richardson and Professor Ward, and patronized by Addison, who intended to have procured a permanent provision for her, and presented with fifty guineas by Queen Caroline. Her affecting exclamation is well known, on seeing her father's portrait for the first time more than thirty years after his death—'Oh my father, my dear father!'—'She spoke of him,' says Richardson, 'with great tenderness; she said he was delightful company, the life of the conversation,' not only by 'a flow of subject, but by unaffected cheerfulness and civility.' This is the character of him whom Dr Johnson represents as a motose tyrant, drawn by one of the supposed victims of his domestic oppression.

Her daughter, Mrs Foster, for whose benefit Dr Newton and Dr Birch procured *Comus* to be acted, survived all her children. The only child of Deborah Milton, of whom we have any accounts besides Mrs Foster, was Caleb Clarke, who went to Madras in the first years of the eighteenth century, and who then vanishes from the view of the biographers of Milton. We have been enabled, by accident, to enlarge a very little this appendage to his history. It appears from an examination of the Parish Register of Fort St George, that Caleb Clarke, who seems to have been parish-clerk of that place, from 1717 to 1719, was buried there on the 26th of October of the latter year. By his wife Mary, whose original surname does not appear, he had three children born at Madras; Abraham, baptized on the 2d June 1703; Mary, baptized on the 1st March 1706, and buried on December 15th of the same year; and Isaac, baptized 13th February 1711. Of Isaac no farther account appears. Abraham, the great grand-son of Milton, in

September 1725 married Anna Clarke; and the baptism of his daughter Mary Clarke is registered on the 2d of April 1727. With her all notices of this family cease. But as neither he nor any of his family, nor his brother Isaac died at Madras, and as he was only twenty-four years of age at the baptism of his daughter, it is probable that the family migrated to some other part of India, and that some trace of them might yet be discovered by examination of the Parish Registers of Calcutta and Bombay. If they had returned to England, they could not have escaped the curiosity of the admirers and historians of Milton. We cannot apologize for the minuteness of this genealogy, or for the eagerness of our desire that it should be enlarged. We profess that superstitious veneration for the memory of that greatest of poets, which regards the slightest relique of him as sacred; and we cannot conceive either true poetical sensibility, or a just sense of the glory of England, to belong to that Englishman, who would not feel the strongest emotions at the sight of a descendant of Milton, discovered in the person even of the most humble and unlettered of human beings.

While the grandson of Milton resided at Madras, in a condition so humble as to make the office of parish-clerk an object of ambition, it is somewhat remarkable, that the elder brother of Addison should have been the governor of that settlement. The Honourable Galston Addison died there in the year 1709. Thomas Pitt, grandfather to Lord Chatham, was his immediate predecessor in the government. It was in that year that Mr Addison began those contributions to periodical essays, which, as long as any sensibility to the beauties of English style remains, must be considered as its purest and most perfect models. But it was not until eighteen months afterwards, when, influenced by fidelity to his friends, and attachment to the cause of liberty, he had retired from office, and when, with his usual judgment, he resolved to resume the more active cultivation of literature, as the elegant employment of his leisure, that he undertook the series of *Essays on Paradise Lost*; not, as has been weakly supposed, with the presumptuous hope of exalting Milton, but with the more reasonable intention of cultivating the public taste, and instructing the nation in the principles of just criticism, by observations on a work already acknowledged to be the first of English poems. If any doubt could be entertained respecting the purpose of this excellent writer, it must be silenced by the language in which he announces his criticism.—‘As the first place among our English poets is due to Milton,’ says he, ‘I shall enter into a regular criticism upon his *Paradise Lost*,’ &c. It is clear that he takes for granted the para-

mount greatness of Milton; and that his object was not to disinter a poet who had been buried in unjust oblivion, but to illustrate the rules of criticism by observations on the writings of him whom all his readers revered as the greatest poet of their country. This passage might have been added by Mr Godwin to the numerous proofs by which he has demonstrated the ignorance and negligence, if not the malice, of those who would persuade us that the English nation could suspend their admiration of a poem, the glory of their country, and the boast of human genius, till they were taught its excellences by critics, and enabled by political revolutions to indulge their feelings with safety. It was indeed worthy of Lord Somers to have been one of its earliest admirers; and to his influence and conversation it is not improbable that we owe, though indirectly, the Essays of Addison, which manifest and inspire a genuine sense of poetical beauty, more than other criticisms of more ambitious pretensions, and now of greater name. But it must not be forgotten, that Milton had subdued the adverse prejudices of Dryden and Atterbury,\* long before he had extorted from a more acrimonious hostility, that unwilling but noble tribute of justice to the poet, for which Dr Johnson seems to have made satisfaction to his hatred by a virulent libel on the man.

It is an excellence of Mr Godwin's narrative, that he thinks and feels about the men and events of the age of Milton, in some measure as Milton himself felt and thought. Exact conformity of sentiment is neither possible nor desirable. But a Life of Milton, written by a zealous opponent of his principles, in the relation of events which so much exasperate the passions, almost inevitably degenerates into a libel. The constant hostility of a biographer to the subject of his narrative, whether it be just or not, is teasing and vexatious. The natural frailty of over-partiality is a thousand times more agreeable. The Life of

---

\* The strange misrepresentations, long prevalent among ourselves, respecting the slow progress of Milton's reputation, sanctioned as they were both by Johnson and by Thomas Warton, have produced ridiculous effects abroad. On the 16th of November 1814, a Parisian poet named *Campeiron*, was, in the present unhappy state of French literature, received at the academy as the successor of the Abbé Delille. In his *Discours de Reception*, he speaks of the Abbé's translation 'de ce Paradis Perdu, dont l'Angleterre est si fiere depuis qu'elle a cessé d'en ignorer le merite.' The President M. Regnault de St Jean d'Angely—'M. Delille repaid our hospitality by translating Milton,' says he, 'et en doublant ainsi la celebrite du Poete; dont le genie a inspire à l'Angleterre un si tardif mais si legitime orgueil.'

Milton has been indeed of late taken out of the hands of his enemies. Dr Symonds has vindicated the principles of Milton with courage and eloquence; and Mr Hayley has minutely described his life in an elegant and pleasing piece of biography. Those who raise so loud a cry against innovation, do not seem to be aware that the slavish fear of speaking freely on the Civil War and the Restoration, on Charles the First and Charles the Second, is one of the last as well as most disgraceful novelties which has infected the English character. It was otherwise in our best times. Thomson, the most peaceable and gentle of men, the friend of statesmen and even of courtiers, speaks thus of the Civil War—

‘ Bright at his call thy AGE of MEN effulged,  
Of men † on whom late time a kindling eye  
Shall turn, and tyrants tremble while they read.’

Warburton was a successful adventurer in the church; he was the friend of Mr Murray and Mr Yorke, men not suspected of patronizing extravagant and dangerous opinions; and he was made a bishop by Lord Chatham, who, in his letters to his nephew, prefers the Parliamentary historian to the Royal, and was even led, by the manifest partiality of Lord Clarendon, to unjust doubts of his integrity. The promotion of Warburton was not obstructed by the following tribute to the talents of Cromwell, and to the merits of the great men whom Cromwell supplanted. ‘ Cromwell  
‘ seemeth to be distinguished in the most eminent manner with  
‘ regard to his abilities, from all other great and wicked men  
‘ who have overturned the liberties of their country. The times  
‘ in which others have succeeded in this attack, were such as  
saw the spirit of liberty suppressed and stifled by a general venality. But Cromwell subdued his country when this spirit was in its height, *by a successful struggle against court-oppression*; and while it was conducted and supported by a set of the greatest geniuses for government the world ever saw embarked in one common cause.’ Those who have fashioned their doctrines to the present hour, will read with surprise, that this candidate for a mitre makes the guilt of Cromwell to consist in subduing Liberty,—not in subverting the Throne or putting a King to death; and that, after the death of the King, he still considers the armed resistance under the Parliamentary leaders, as ‘ a successful struggle against Court-oppression.’ In a note of the same Warburton on Pope (Warton’s Pope, Vol. IV. p. 206.), he ridicules the prejudice entertained at the court of James I. against Grotius as a *republican*, and considers such a prejudice as one of the most disgraceful badges of the partisans of absolute power.

† Hampden.

But it is useless to multiply examples in a matter so well known. It requires great weakness, or gross hypocrisy, to conclude, that because the greatest and best men of England have justified the first resistance of the Parliament, and, considering its success as essential to the preservation of liberty, (purchased, as all such success must be, by calamities, and stained, as it too generally is, by crimes), have rejoiced in the event of the contest;—they were on that account Republicans or Regicides,—that they approved the illegal execution of any man,—or that they did not regard any subsequent attempt to impose a republic upon the people of England, in defiance of their ancient character and hereditary habits, as an enterprise of a criminal and tyrannical nature.

We shall conclude with a very remarkable instance of the atrocious outrage with which the memory of Milton was treated in those evil days which soon followed his death. The well-known Oxford Decree of 1683, had anathematized and condemned to the flames all the books then published in defence of the rights of mankind; and, among others, the works of Milton.

As this decree \* adverts on the preamble to the Rye-House Plot, it must have been composed during the examination and trial of the persons charged with that conspiracy. It was promulgated on the 21st of July, the week after the tragical and mysterious death of Lord Essex—on the day of the death of Lord Russell, the man in the kingdom most generally beloved—and while many of the state prisoners, among whom was Sidney, remained to be tried. The practice of inflaming the public passions in such a manner as to affect the administration of justice, and thus aiding a triumphant faction to destroy their enemies by the forms of law, was then so prevalent, that Dryden,

---

\* One of the positions condemned in that decree ‘*as false, seditious, and infamous,*’ was, ‘that it is lawful to preclude the next heir from his right and succession to the Crown.’ Sir J. Jekyll, on the trial of Sacheverell, observed, that the maintaining of the contrary position had been subjected to the pains of treason or premunire, by the two statutes of Elizabeth and Anne. But the doctrine of indefeasible succession, lately revived under the name of legitimacy, was condemned nowhere with more irreverent liberty than in the verses of Dr Aldrich, Dean of Christ-Church, to King William, on his coronation.

‘*Nam neque Te regni summa ad fastigia vexit  
Lucinæ favor, et nascendi inglorius ordo,  
Vivida sed bello virtus, tutataque ferro  
Libertas.*’

only seven days before a bill of indictment for high treason was preferred against Lord Shaftesbury, published *Absalom and Achitophel*, in which he calls that nobleman 'a name to all succeeding ages curst.' This decree was, it seems, thought worthy of being commemorated in Latin verses; and the verses, for excellences invisible to us on this side of the Tweed, have been thought worthy of being preserved in the collection called *Musæ Anglicanæ*; though, as the publication was, after the Revolution, in the same volume with Addison's Latin poems, dedicated to Montague the Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, the name of the writer is concealed, and nothing appears of him but that he was a member of Christ-Church. After exulting over the conflagration of the obnoxious writings, this anonymous versifier proceeds to observe, that if the writers were to suffer the same fate, and to be consumed in the same fire with their writings, there would be seen burning, amidst the crackling flame, Milton, a name unloved by earth and heaven.

'In medio videas flamma crepitante cremari

MILTONUM—terris cœloque inamabile nomen !'

He seems to leave it ambiguous whether this spectacle would fill him with pleasure, or whether he is not visited by some natural misgivings at a prospect which he describes with the luxuriance of wanton exultation. But his guilt is aggravated by the just commendations which he afterwards bestows on Milton, and by the conclusion in which he is pleased to allow that the fame of *Milton* would only have perished with the world,—if he had employed his genius to celebrate the praise of Charles II.—if like another unhappy Poet 'to please a ribald King and Court,' he had 'profaned the God-given Strength, and marred the lofty Line.'

Within sixty or seventy years of the promulgation of this famous decree, an Oxford poet, a most furious Tory, if not then rather to be called a Jacobite, and so bitter an enemy of Milton, that, though a man of great sagacity, he was at that very moment betrayed by a forger into the support of false charges of plagiarism against *Paradise Lost*, was compelled, by the power of truth over an honest nature, to utter the following lines—

'At length our mighty Bard's victorious lays,

Fill the loud voice of universal praise ;

And baffled spite, with hopeless anguish dumb,

Yields to renown the centuries to come.'

The University may now contemplate, with historical calmness, their own fatal errors in a period of guilt and wretchedness. Jones has in better times told her, that she will be the first of literary bodies, as long as she is the most free. Lowth speaking on her behalf, boasted, with truth and elegance, that he breath-

ed the same atmosphere which Hooker, Chillingworth, and Locke had breathed before. The statue of Mr Locke at Christ-Church, shows that colleges, as well as nations, may 'to buried merit raise the tardy bust.'

In a mixed government like that of England, where the care of education is entrusted to two opulent and powerful ecclesiastical bodies, it was reasonably to be expected that one at least should incline towards Toryism, if the other should, by any accident, lean towards the opinions of the Whigs. As long as neither overpassed the boundaries of the Constitution, the diversity of sentiment was natural, perhaps not to be lamented, and certainly not to be condemned. The University of Cambridge, since the accession of the House of Hanover, had been considered as the Whig University; an opinion founded rather on the general tone of sentiment prevalent there, than on a comparison of the political principles pursued in public life by the most illustrious sons of both Universities. This learned body however has, in a late public act, apparently intended to renounce and abdicate its character as a Whig University. In their address of congratulation to the Regent on the victory of Waterloo, is the following remarkable passage. 'And although we reckon it among the chief subjects of our exultation and thankfulness, that the cause of Civil Freedom, the blessings of which we duly appreciate, will be promoted by the success of our arms,—we feel it as a still higher claim on our gratitude, that the great interests of religion and morality, will necessarily be advanced by the Triumph of Loyalty and Sound Principle over Treason and Perjury.'

It would be an insult to a learned University to claim, on its behalf, that allowance for inconsiderate language which contempt generally secures for the fervour of loyalty or servility in an ignorant and place-hunting corporation. The words of so learned a body, must be presumed to be well-weighed; and their language selected with such care, as precisely to convey neither more nor less than their opinions. What falls from those who preside over public education, too, is so likely to make a deep impression on the docility of youth, that a small error may be very pernicious to society; more especially when they assume an authority to decide on the comparative value not only of political interests, but of moral principles. Does the University desire that the English youth should follow this example of making a cold and slight compliment to Civil Freedom, as they hastily pass by on their way to objects in their opinion of higher estimation? Does the University teach, that 'Civil Freedom' is not conducive in the highest degree to the great interests of Religion and Morality?' To us,



we will confess, that they appear to inculcate that false and pernicious opinion, by associating these great interests with Loyalty, as contradistinguished from Liberty. Yet Loyalty may triumph, under the most absolute, and even under the most tyrannical governments, over that which by law is treason, and which must be attended with that breach of oaths of allegiance which they call perjury. Are absolute monarchies for that reason to be revered as asylums of religion and schools of virtue? Is it not on the contrary true, that while superstition may grovel, and persecution may rage, under the influence of loyalty and allegiance to tyrannical masters, civil liberty alone protects conscience from oppression, delivers human infirmity from temptations to religious insincerity, and teaches justice and humanity to all men? The religion of the University of Cambridge is the Protestant. That religion doubtless teaches a reasonable obedience; but it rose against the powers of the world, by a liberty of action and opinion against the base principles of indiscriminate submission. Since this address, we have seen how the Triumph of Loyalty advances the interests of the Protestant religion by the barbarous and renewed massacres of the Protestants of Nismes.

Let it be remembered that the University, not we, have brought Loyalty and Liberty into opposition. In a free government they are allies; and in that state we are best pleased to view them. But the University, in a manner quite uncalled for, because in their opinion the victory was favourable both to liberty and loyalty, go out of their way to pronounce, that liberty is at best a secondary object,—which must indeed be true, if it be, as they assert, less connected than loyalty with the great interests of religion and morality. The precise difference between a moderate Tory and a moderate Whig, is, we conceive, this—That a Tory is more influenced by loyalty, and a Whig by the love of liberty—that a Tory considers liberty as the second interest of society, while a Whig regards it as the first. According to this plain and very generally received distinction, the University of Cambridge seems, by its late Address, to have distinctly renounced its old pretensions to Whiggism. No man deserving the name of a philosopher, in ancient or modern times, has perhaps carried the claims of Loyalty higher than Mr Hume. Yet even he, when he speaks of loyalty, ventures only to call it ‘that noble and generous principle, *inferior* only in excellence to the more enlightened affection towards a legal constitution.’ Or if the University should prefer the opinion of a Treasurer of the Navy to that of a private philosopher, they may see the former express his joy that, in the great instance of the Revolution, where an unfortunate necessity brought loyalty and liberty into collision, liberty prevailed. ‘It is the pride and

‘ happiness of the people of this country to reflect, that the tyrannical attempts of King James terminated in the ruin of the Prince, and the more firm establishment of the rights of the Subject.’ (*Rose’s Observations on Fox, Vol. i. p. 22.*)

ART. XI. *Examen Rapide du Gouvernement des Bourbons en FRANCE, depuis le Mois d’Avril 1814, jusqu’au Mois de Mai 1815. Seconde Edition. 8vo. pp. 72. Paris, 1815.*

*Des Revolutionnaires et du Ministère Actuel. Par M. 8vo. pp. 85. Paris, 1815.*

WE are almost thankful that we have neither time nor space left even for the enumeration of the many mighty themes that are folded up in the little word which we have placed at the top of this page. Undoubtedly, there never was a moment when the reasonable settlement of France was so important to itself, to its neighbours, and to posterity—nor one in which it was so little to be looked for; never a moment in which the temptation to admonish and to predict with regard to it was so strong, and at the same time so full of peril. In the whole history of the world, perhaps, there has been no conjuncture in which it was so difficult to determine what was to be wished—so impossible to say what was to be expected. With reference to that unhappy country, all parties are confounded, and all principles set in opposition; and its actual situation presents, not so much a choice of evils and dangers, as a variety among which choice itself is bewildered.

With these difficulties, however, it is not our intention to grapple—at least on the present occasion: Nor shall we enter into any question as to the wrongs which France may have suffered from her own rulers, or from other nations—or the rights to which she may yet be entitled to lay claim in either quarter. We inquire not, at present, what treatment she has deserved, or of what government she is capable—what evils she may occasion by her example, or of what dangers she may become the source by our mismanagement. These are topics, indeed, of incalculable interest, not only to her, but to us, and to all the world;—but they are by far too large to be entered upon here; and we have not as yet either lights or courage to treat of them as they ought to be treated. In the little, therefore, which we propose now to say, we shall merely endeavour to give a short explanation of the immediate hazards to which the peace of that country seems to be actually exposed; and to suggest a few ob-

ervations on the course of policy which it will be fitting that this country should pursue, in the event of certain emergencies which can no longer be considered as unlikely.

We suppose there are none of our readers so enviably ignorant, or sanguine, as not to know and believe, that notwithstanding the second restoration of their antient line of princes, opinions are still deeply and dreadfully divided in that distracted country—that the elements of the fiercest dissension are still fermenting in her bosom—and that in the minds both of his friends and his enemies, it is confessedly a matter of doubt and uncertainty, whether the present Sovereign will be able to maintain himself many months longer on the throne which he has so recently ascended.

Of the actual extent of the discontents that undoubtedly prevail, it would be presumptuous for any one in this country to pretend to make any thing like a precise estimate—since it is certain that it is not at all known in that where they are actually raging; and it is undoubtedly one of the most alarming symptoms of the present disorders of France, that with a prodigious exasperation and violence in both parties, they seem to be mutually in the most complete and incurable ignorance of their relative strength and organization. With us the channels by which public opinion is collected and conveyed, are everywhere visible and conspicuous. They have been worn deep and regular by the long continued agency of undisguised communications; and constitute a system by which the amount and direction of the general sentiment may at any time be ascertained with a precision quite sufficient for all practical purposes. In France, however, this sort of communication has never been openly permitted; and, for the last twenty years, the same circumstances which have most powerfully excited and impressed the opinions of the great mass of the nation, have also effectually repressed their expression; while the apparent earnestness with which certain opinions have been expressed on extraordinary occasions, and the levity with which they have been as solemnly disavowed, make it doubly difficult to rely on the few indications which the nature of the government permitted, or the genius of the people supplied. There is no organization, in short, in the structure of their society, for the transmission of political sentiments through the great mass of the community; and the temper and habits of the people are such, as to make us distrust the conclusions which might be drawn from the scanty specimens that occasionally appear. Thus it has happened, that almost all their great internal movements have been ventured upon in the dark; and that, with them, more than with any other people, a few daring spirits have so often succeeded in forcing the bulk of the na-

tion upon courses not more against their interests than their inclinations—because there were no safe or ready means of ascertaining how few they were, or what a great majority was inclined to oppose their usurpation: And from the same circumstances it happens, that, even with the best means of information on the spot, no correct or satisfactory account of the national temper can now be obtained; and that little else can be learned with certainty from the immediate communication of the most intelligent persons in both parties, than that there exist everywhere the grossest contradictions, and the most monstrous exaggerations; and that men of all principles are utterly blinded by their strong passions and sanguine imaginations.

In these circumstances, it is evident that no reliance can be placed upon the most confident assertions of either party with regard to the true spirit and disposition of the nation at large, and that our opinion of it must be formed by inference from certain prominent and admitted facts in their history and situation, and from a comparison of the principles and motives which they mutually avow or impute to each other. The slightest glance at their history, at all events, will at once demonstrate the existence, and display the deep sunk and wide spreading roots of that dislike and distrust of the reigning family, which it would require so much management to obviate, or so much power to disregard.

In the first place, it is now near twenty-five years since they were driven from the sovereignty and the country;—during all which time, its affairs have been conducted without reference to them, or their pretensions. But from this great fact alone, it is obvious, that more than five-sixths of the active population of France must have come into existence since the name of the Bourbons had ceased to be heard of in that country; and even those who had attained to manhood before their disappearance, can only have heard of them, during that long interval, as objects of contempt or hostility. Some kinder and more respectful remembrances might be secretly cherished, and some more loyal vows breathed for their welfare, in the woods of La Vendée, or the alleys of Bourdeaux;—but the public and general voice of France had unquestionably, during all that time, designated them only as objects of scorn and aversion;—and it is equally undeniable, that the state of things which followed upon their expulsion, however fruitful it might be of crimes and barren of substantial comforts, yet gave rise to a series of events, incalculably flattering to the national vanity, and captivating beyond measure to the selfish ambition of the bold and aspiring part of the society.

It is necessary also to remember, that the Princes, by whose

removal this great flood of glory seemed to be let in upon the nation, had neither endeared nor distinguished themselves by any great or dazzling exploit, or trait of magnanimity, by which their memory might have been exalted in popular recollection, and they themselves brought to mind, with loyal and penitential regrets, when discontents were occasionally roused by the exactions of a sterner master. They had emigrated ingloriously in pursuit of personal safety; and had never headed, nor animated, by their presence, any of the attempts which their adherents for some time made with so gallant a desperation for their restoration.—They had taken refuge, too, and generally resided among the bitter and beaten enemies of the nation;—and must have figured to French imaginations, as among the most insignificant dependents of those weak and misguided monarchs who had been compelled to kiss the feet of the great republic—and whose kingdoms had been rent and scattered, and given away at the nod of its Imperial master.

From this retirement, they came back at last,—not in consequence of any voluntary or internal movement of reviving loyalty, or impatience of actual oppression,—not in obedience to the spontaneous call or invitation of any part of the people, or under any circumstances which could render their restoration glorious to the nation they were to govern,—but in consequence of a series of disasters, by which its power and its triumphs were signally overthrown, and the deepest mortification inflicted on that national pride and vanity which had been their support under oppression, and their delight in their days of prosperity. This restoration was the obvious and immediate fruit of the victories of foreigners over the armies and provinces of France. It crowned the first triumphs of those who had been for twenty years the inveterate but baffled enemies of the country, and was confessedly brought about by the slaughter of her citizens—the desolation of her fields—and the humiliation of her national greatness. It formed part of the greatest train of calamities that had befallen the country from without in the memory of the existing generation, and must have been connected in the minds of all Frenchmen, with ideas of defeat, degradation and dishonour;—ideas which received no softening, in this instance, from any part of the nation having been instrumental in bringing it about, or even from the recollection of any feat of arms or of heroic daring having been performed in their own cause, by those whose exaltation was the end and consummation of all this suffering. It was simply the case of France being invaded and conquered, and its government overthrown by Russian and Prussian armies, and of a Prince who had not been

heard of for twenty years, coming under their escort, and ascending the vacant throne.

It is plain, that under all these circumstances, there was no reason to suppose that there could be any active attachment to the person of the restored Sovereign, or to his family, in the body of the nation; and that though their desire to obtain a settled government, and, above all, to disarm the present hostility of their victorious enemies, might induce them to receive him, and even to maintain him on the throne, he could have no personal claim on their regard or affection, and none of that hold of their habitual feelings, which, in regular monarchies, is so apt to identify the dignity of the Sovereign with the honour of the country, and gives to patriotism or national partiality, the name and the attributes of loyalty.—All their habits and feelings and attachments naturally ran in another direction: And, with reference merely to the circumstances we have enumerated, we may safely say that they must have been at least neutral and null in behalf of Louis XVIII., and that he had every thing like loyalty to create in the breasts of a people to which he had been so long a stranger.

But these were not the only circumstances which belonged to his new situation and that of the people he was to govern. The internal condition of France had been altered during his absence, at least as much as its exterior relations. The original possessors of property and rank, and official and personal eminence, had been all displaced along with the reigning family, and those various titles to power and influence been settled for twenty years upon other individuals. The whole frame and structure of society had been accommodated to this change; and if some few individuals yet survived, to whom 'the soil of the achievement' might still be supposed to adhere, by far the greater part were in possession of their honours and emoluments upon legitimate titles. Innumerable multitudes had fairly bought, and diligently improved, the properties that had been originally confiscated in the heat and violence of the Revolution; and almost all who had been promoted to office, or attained to distinction, had deserved the places they had reached, by the cultivation and exercise of their talents, or by eminent services rendered to what was universally acknowledged to be the settled government of the country. Still greater numbers, who remembered no other government, had innocently succeeded to the advantages thus acquired by their parents, and could not easily be persuaded that they were not entitled to retain them. Besides all this, it is never to be forgotten, that, along with many miseries and wrongs, the Revo-

lution had been productive of much substantial benefit to the great body of the people. Seigneurial tyranny and ecclesiastical exaction had been entirely destroyed. The right of the nation at large to a voice in the enactment of its laws, and the measures of its government, had been distinctly recognized; and, above all, the capacity of all ranks of people, and of every individual indeed in the country, to be appointed to every situation of power or dignity within it, had not only been allowed, but had been acted upon in the most ample and conspicuous manner. The barrier between the noblesse and the lower orders was entirely thrown down, and the very traces of its existence effaced and trodden smooth:—Almost every person in eminent station in France, had risen from that class of society to which all eminent station had been formerly interdicted, and whose condition had consequently received an accession of dignity and advantage that scarcely admitted of being overrated.

All these were the fruits of the revolution—the dear-bought fruits of the dangers and sufferings, the crimes and anxieties that had occurred in its progress—and now endeared them the more to those by whom they had been purchased at so vast a price.—But the return of the Bourbons had always been considered as the triumph of a counter-revolution;—and it was obvious that the brother of Lewis XVI., ascending the throne by the exclusive aid of a foreign army, could not be supposed to look with indulgence on any of those changes or institutions which had originated in the massacre and expulsion of his family, or upon any of those individuals whom he found in possession of the properties or offices which had formerly belonged to the faithful companions of his exile. A thousand amiable and a thousand excuseable feelings stood in the way of any such indulgence:—and whatever forbearance the necessity of his situation, or the dictates of obvious policy might impose upon him, no man in France could doubt that he must wish to restore their estates and dignities to the emigrants, their privileges to the nobility, and *all* its original powers to the crown. To the body of the nation, however, a sovereign with such dispositions could not possibly be acceptable—nor could his accession be contemplated without feelings of general distrust and alarm. Speaking with a very moderate latitude, we might say that all the considerable men in France in March 1814—all who by station or talent or reputation, could guide its opinions, or determine its conduct, had interests opposed to such an event, and felt that they would be placed by it either in the condition of offenders to be punished, or delinquents to be forgiven.

This then was the situation in which the present sovereign of

France stood at his first accession in April 1814. There was not only no attachment or liking to him or his family in the bulk of the nation—but there were strong and very general interests and habits which rendered their return undesirable, and laid the foundation of a very wide spread feeling of alarm and jealousy in the body of the people. In these, and in many other respects, there was no resemblance whatever between our restoration in 1661 and that of the Bourbons in 1814. Property had not changed hands at all in England, during the time of the usurpation; and, with a few exceptions, the same individuals who held the chief permanent influence in the country at the breaking out of the war, continued to possess it through the whole period that elapsed till the Restoration.—In France, every thing was radically altered, and twenty years had done the work of several centuries.

These distressing, but very obvious truths, were felt too by the Princes themselves and their adherents; and, conscious that nothing but the total discomfiture of the national force, and the actual invasion and conquest of the country, could have opened their way to the throne, they felt that it was not by the assertion of their hereditary rights that it could now be maintained:—Aware that they had been placed there by nothing but the success of the Allied arms; and that these arms could not *always* be held out to support them, they were convinced of the necessity of creating a French interest in their behalf, and at all events of disarming the hostilities and suspicions to which they could not be ignorant they were liable. The only three points they had in their favour were, 1st, the support of their victorious Allies—2d, the ordinary patronage which belongs to all actual governments—and, 3dly, the advantage of being the descendants of a former sovereign, by whose elevation the idea of an open competition, or of setting up the Crown as a prize to be fought for, was excluded. Except these three considerations, every thing, as we have seen, was against them; and these were by no means of such decisive weight as might at first sight be imagined.—The first, and by far the strongest, was evidently of a temporary nature; for though an unprecedented alliance of the great powers of Europe might seat a king on the throne of France, it was evidently absurd to suppose, that they should continue to hold him on it for an indefinite period of time, if he was not able to keep his seat by his own exertions.—The second was the mere necessary result of actual possession; and sure, of course, to be transferred to any one by whom the possessor might be supplanted.—The third did not necessarily point to the individuals actually called to the succession; and,



we suspect, has always had much less weight in France than the inhabitants of happier countries can easily believe. The evils of internal dissension and civil broils, which appear so terrible to those who contemplate them at a distance, seem to have little influence on those to whom they have been long familiar. The strong passions which they excite and gratify, have a sort of attraction like the habit of intoxication or deep play; and we are persuaded, not only that both parties in France would at this moment risk all the horrors of another popular Revolution, if they thought that by means of it they could completely demolish their antagonists,—but that nothing else has contributed so much to pervert our judgment as to the affairs of that country, as our exaggerated estimates of the reluctance which those who have once suffered by civil commotions must feel for their renewal. Be this, however, as it may, the King felt in 1814, that the offer of the Crown which was then made him, originated mainly in a desire to get rid of the existing war with Europe; and that it would never have been made, had the fortune of that contest been different. Accordingly, he did not claim it as his absolute and rightful inheritance, but accepted the offer that was made, and assented in substance to all the conditions with which it was qualified.

By this act, he became at once a constitutional king. He recognized in the body which made the offer, the most conspicuous of all the revolutionary institutions, and gave a wise and unequivocal pledge of his willingness to recognize all that was still recognized by his subjects of the revolution itself, and the principles to which it had given birth. His professions, however, were naturally viewed with some degree of distrust; and coming back surrounded with those emigrants who had always treated the whole revolution as a mere rebellion and successful revolt, and openly declared their wishes for a complete restoration of the ancient monarchy with all its accompaniments, it was of the utmost necessity that his conduct should be in conformity with his professions, and that no single act should betray those dispositions or designs, the existence of which he could not fail to know was so generally and reasonably suspected. Let us see whether his acts were always thus guarded and unexceptionable.

He began by calling himself Louis XVIII.—though no sovereign after Louis XVI. had ever been acknowledged by the nation; and the first hour of his accession he said was the twenty-first year of his reign. There were obvious motives and temptations to the use of this style; but it could not fail to startle and alarm the nation, who certainly never meant to acknowledge that they had owed him allegiance for twenty years before his

arrival among them, or that he had a right to be king at all, independent of their invitation and consent. He then, without taking any notice of that invitation, which he had however accepted, declared that he owed his throne, after God, to the Prince Regent of England. He ordered a monument to be erected to the memory of the emigrants who had fallen at Quiberon fighting against their countrymen, in an attempt to reestablish the whole ancient privileges of the crown and the nobles—and immediately after ennobled, by a special grant, the family of Georges Cadoudal, who had come into the country with the avowed purpose of assassinating its former sovereign. In presenting the constitutional charter to the House of Representatives, his chancellor described it, in his official speech, as ‘the voluntary limitation of a power in itself unlimited.’ The liberty of the press, which had been solemnly promised on his arrival, was afterwards retracted; and, what was of far more consequence, under the censure to which it was then subjected all sorts of invectives against the revolution and every thing to which it had given birth, as well as the most direct reclamations of the privileges and properties of the emigrants, were allowed to be printed without challenge, while an unrelenting interdict was put upon all that bore an opposite character. The most indiscreet language upon those subjects was openly held by many persons who were known to be high in the Royal favour; and Monsieur, the King’s brother, went so far as to say, in a public address to the emigrants of the South, that though little had been done for them as yet, ‘we hope, in time, to obtain for you a more complete justice.’ The consequence of all this was, that many individuals spoke confidently of the properties which formerly belonged to their families as being still theirs; and that, in consequence of the fears suggested by those proceedings, very many of the holders of these properties offered them for a third part of their value to these new claimants, who, in several instances, rejected the compromise with disdain. About the same time, a royal edict was promulgated for the formation of schools, and the revival of the regulations of 1750, for the education of the young nobility; and subscriptions were opened for their support, in which no name but that of an antient family could be admitted; while it was observed, that the nomination to foreign embassies, and other situations of dignity, was confined almost exclusively to persons of the same description.

To these most alarming indications of the spirit of the new government, were added some more substantial, though less provoking infractions of the charter thus ungraciously promul-

gated. The abolition of the *droits réunis* had been promised with much parade and solemnity; and, shortly after, the payment was exacted with more than usual rigour. The charter had declared, that no tax or impost of any sort should be levied without the consent of the legislature; and a variety of taxes, in particular those upon newspapers, upon letters of naturalization, and for defraying the judiciary establishment, were levied by a mere order of the chancellor. In like manner, the charter had declared, that all the courts of justice should remain as they were, until altered by a special law; but the King, after proposing a law to the Chamber of Representatives for new-modeling the Cour de Cassation, by far the most important of them all, and finding that it was not likely to be adopted, adjourned the Chamber, and reorganized the court of his own authority—diminishing the number of judges, and changing several even upon that reduced establishment—Besides many other acts of a similar character, which could not be explained without a longer detail.

We say nothing at present as to the justice or injustice of these acts. Some of them may have been thought unavoidable, and some may admit of another justification; but from whatever motive, good or bad, they were performed, it seems impossible to deny, that they were calculated to give very general disgust and alarm to the body of the nation—to offend all those who had become considerable under the former government, and to deaden the hopes of those who had expected more freedom and impartiality from that which was begun. The consequence accordingly was, that the people began to regard their new princes with distrust, anger, and disdain. Many who had at first supported them, became sullen and alienated. Those who had been neutral, were turned into decided enemies; and such as had always been hostile, became clamorous and forward in their opposition.

In this state of the public mind, Bonaparte landed from Elba: And it is in vain to disguise that it was this state of the public mind, and this alone, that made it possible for him to advance triumphantly to Paris. Some concert and preparation there probably was,—but no detailed plan for his march; and the success of the enterprize was evidently trusted, in the main, to the zeal and discontent of the soldiery, and to the general indifference, despondency and alienation which the conduct of the new Government had inspired. France had no occasion, certainly, to love or to trust this mighty conqueror; \* and yet,

---

\* We could more easily account, however, for the love of his own subjects whom he had trained to profitable servility or profi-

with all the hazard of an unprovided war which his return brought with it, it is certain that she submitted more entirely and implicitly to him than she did to Louis XVIII. in the first days of his apparent popularity. The interests of freedom and of the rights acquired by the Revolution seemed once more identified with his; and, miserable as that delusion was, the eagerness with which many persons rushed into it, showed sufficiently how very popular these interests still were in the country, and the mighty influence which might be gained or lost by consulting them. The danger to the restored Emperor, therefore, was wholly from without,—while that to Louis XVIII. had been wholly from within. He made head with his usual alacrity against that danger; dashed himself desperately against the iron lines of the English at Waterloo—and was broken to pieces and totally destroyed in the shock. The vic-

gate ambition, than for the strange partiality which has lately indicated itself for him among some of those who profess to be lovers of liberty in this country. It is a fine thing, no doubt, to be generous to a fallen foe, and not to insult that which we were lately compelled to fear: and, upon this principle, we cordially approve of all the decencies and external civilities that have been observed in the recent treatment of this Imperial captive. It is to our own honour and dignity, however, and not to his merits, that these observances are due; and we are altogether unable to conceive, how his mere downfall should convert him into an object of regard or affection, who was generally admitted, in the days of his exaltation, to deserve the execration of all friends to political freedom or national independence. To us, he has always appeared a most pernicious and detestable tyrant, without feeling, principle, or concern for human sufferings or honour—and such he appears to us still. Even they who now seem inclined to relent towards him, can find nothing better to say in his behalf, than that he is not worse than the run of other tyrants and conquerors—and we believe this to be true: But is that a reason why those who hate and oppose *them*, should feel any kindness and indulgence for *him*? For our part, we know nothing so hateful as a tyrant and a conqueror; and it is quite enough that he is admitted to belong to that fraternity. But it is proper to observe, that, though not worse perhaps in character than other tyrants, he has had far more power, and done far more mischief, than any other in recent times; and therefore deserves to be more hated. The sort of hankering after him which we can trace among some of our good Whigs, proceeds, we have no doubt, from the circumstance of his being now abused and insulted by the servile tools of tyrants not much better than himself. But it is a gross perversion of a good principle, and does real injury to the cause which it is meant to serve,

tory of foreigners, and the defeat of the French armies, again opened the way for Louis to the French throne.

After the impressive lesson which this second expulsion of the family must have taught, it is interesting to consider what measures they adopted to correct the errors, or supply the omissions which had contributed to that catastrophe.

In the first place, instead of waiting beyond the frontier till the first shock of rage and humiliation attending the defeat was over, and the odium of the severe measures to which it necessarily led had subsided, and then coming in to share and mitigate the national afflictions,—his Majesty was advised to come back to Paris in the very midst of the Allied forces, and thus directly to connect himself with all their obnoxious proceedings, and to exhibit himself, not only as profiting by the national discomfiture, which he unquestionably did, but as exulting and rejoicing in their calamities.

In the second place, before any treaty of peace was concluded with the nation, and while the national army had retired by convention, he set himself down in his capital, surrounded by two or three hundred thousand foreign soldiers, and there agreed to terms more humiliating and disadvantageous for France, than ever had been imposed on her in the course of three hundred years of war and negotiation: Almost all her border garrisons and places of strength were to be given up to a foreign soldiery, and large payments were to be made to defray their expenses in this triumphant war. It was in this way that the country was to pay for the expense to which Europe had been put in bringing them back their King!—and his popularity must have been great indeed, if his return did not appear dearly bought with the blood of an hundred thousand Frenchmen—the unprecedented mortification of the national vanity—the loss of twenty frontier towns—and the stipulation of forty or fifty millions sterling of tribute to those Allies of their Sovereign.

In this situation of affairs, and still overawed or protected by the foreign armies, the King immediately removed the whole of the prefects and provincial officers, and replaced them with men for the most part of violent Royalist principles—many of them emigrants, utterly unknown and necessarily suspected in their districts—and almost all of them understood to be adverse to any limitations whatever on the Royal authority. The pretext for this change was, that the former prefects had made no efforts to arrest the progress of Bonaparte; and that it was necessary to have officers upon whose fidelity his Majesty might confidently rely. But the charge of nonresistance to Bonaparte was equally applicable to the nation at large; and it must have

been not a little alarming to the people to find, that no one was thought deserving of the King's confidence who had not professed hostility to their freedom.

The next step, however, was more decisive. The legislative bodies appointed by the Emperor were necessarily dissolved; and if, in the new nomination of Peers, there was a jealous exclusion of almost all who had signalized themselves at any time by attachment to the principles of the Revolution, this was no more than could be accounted for, and excused, by the prejudices and alarms of Royalty, in a body depending entirely on its pleasure for its existence. In the election of the Representatives, however, there was an interference of a more extraordinary and questionable character. These elections, it may not be known to all our readers, had been finally regulated by Bonaparte soon after his assumption of the government, about fifteen years ago. The old aristocracy being entirely destroyed, it was very early thought expedient to do something towards supplying its place; and, in order to reconcile this with the revolutionary right of universal suffrage, it was agreed that the primary electors of every department should nominate a certain number of persons, with considerable qualifications in respect of property, who should elect the representatives for the legislative body. The change introduced by Bonaparte was to make those last electors hold their functions for life—and thus to limit the right of interference in the body of the people, to merely filling up the vacancies which might from time to time arise in their body.—That energetic sovereign, however, was not very fond of popular interference in any shape—and it had accordingly happened that, during the whole period of his power, no vacancies ever had been supplied—and, at the period of the King's last restoration, the electoral colleges, as they were called, were deficient of their complement by one third, or in some instances one half of their number.—When the king came to issue orders for returning a new Chamber of Deputies, it was suggested that the electoral colleges ought previously to be raised to their proper quota: But, instead of referring for this purpose to the primary electors, it was thought better just to order the prefects of the departments, who by this time were all decided royalists, to make up the complement, by nominating, of their own authority, such a number of trustworthy persons in the neighbourhood as might be required for that purpose.

This was accordingly done; and as those supplementary members were, of course, the most violent Royalists which the prefect could find in his district, all the deputies, with a very few exceptions, proved to be of the same character—and, in some in-

stances, the original body of electors refused to concur with these Royal nominees, and left the election entirely in their hands.—Such, we believe, is the true history and actual constitution of that Chamber of Deputies which now exercises the legislative functions in France, and has already signalized itself by so many marks of devotion to the cause of the Court.—So far from fulfilling the appropriate duty of a representative of the commons of the land, by leaning towards the democratical side of the constitution, and maintaining a constant jealousy of royal encroachment, it is notorious that it is a great deal more Royalist than either the King or his ministers—that the minister has been left in a small minority on the popular side, in almost every question of a constitutional nature—and that the great difficulty on the part of the Court has been, not to secure its attachment, but to keep it within moderate limits. The Chamber of Peers, nominated at the same time by the King alone, as the bulwark and aristocratical fence of the monarchy, is far less monarchic than this popular assembly, which professes to represent that part of the state which is the most jealous of court influence. Out of 450 members, of whom scarcely so many as 400 have ever assembled, the common calculation is, that there are more than 150 violent Royalists, who think that the emigrants should have all their property and privileges restored, and that all who had ever held office of any kind before April 1814, ought to be exiled from the country,—nearly 200 who go along with the ministry in more moderate projects both of reward and of punishment—about 30 constitutionalists, and 15 or 20 old jacobins.

A body so constituted, cannot well be supposed to be a fair representation of the public opinion, or to command much public respect by its proceedings. Accordingly, from the first hour of its convocation, it has been the custom with the great mass of the discontented, to make a mock of its pretensions, and to hold it out as in direct opposition to the general sentiments of the country. It is even understood, that the Court itself has been alarmed at the extravagance and excess of its loyalty; and that it actually was in contemplation to have dissolved it, and assembled another, by a more unexceptionable mode of election.

All that has passed since, has been calculated to aggravate, rather than allay, the resentment and distrust occasioned by the course of policy we have been endeavouring to delineate. The removal of Fouché and Talleyrand from the ministry, for no other known offence than that of having belonged to the revolution, and having urged the necessity of conciliating a nation which could not be subdued—a number of arrests by the agents of government without the authority of law—and a law passed

suspending all the provisions for personal liberty, with very little precaution—the continued suppression of the liberty of the press, and the continued partiality of the censors—the barbarous persecution of the Protestants, avowedly on the score of their general love of civil liberty—the mission of the princes into the provinces most noted for the violence of their royalist principles—the exclusive favour shown to priests and emigrants—and the general irritation produced by the presence of the armed allies of the King, and the humiliating restitutions upon which they have insisted—have all conspired to foster that spirit of discontent and impatience towards the government, of which the foundations had been laid by so many other causes.

We have hitherto spoken only of the public and overt acts of the government, and of circumstances the existence and effect of which seem equally undeniable; and if there were nothing more in the case, we should think the causes of a general and very dangerous discontent sufficiently accounted for. But the truth is, that those feelings are more embittered by circumstances of which it is impossible to produce the same evidence, and in the reality of which it is consequently impossible to have the same assurance. It is notorious, however, all over France, that it is not so much against the King himself, as against those members of his family who are most about his person, that the suspicions and resentment of the nation are directed; and that by far the most formidable exasperation has been produced, by the impression which unhappily prevail as to the principles and deportment of the princes next in succession to the throne. Monsieur, though principally bent upon the restoration of the Church to its primitive power and splendour, is said to profess openly his preference of an absolute monarchy, and to speak with undisguised hostility of all representative assemblies, and other checks on the royal authority. The Duc d'Angoulême, bred up in the same principles, has had his zeal for them inflamed by the enthusiastic temper of his wife, who has all the spirit of a martyr for the cause—and many apologies for that spirit which its martyrs could not always claim. At Bourdeaux and Nismes, and in various parts of the South, self-created bands are said to have risen up, breathing vengeance against all who have taken any part in the revolution; and contending for the restoration of the old monarchy. Their royalism is so exalted, that they will not wear the white cockade, which they say has been contaminated by the touch of republicans and regicides; but adorn themselves in the colours of the Duchesse D'Angoulême, whose champions they profess to be. The Duc de Berri is still more unpopular than any of the other three. To their implacable



hostility to every thing that owes its birth to the revolution, he is said to add a harshness and arrogance of manner, which has given deep and indelible offence. These illustrious persons, and their immediate confidants and advisers, are positively asserted to hold language of the most unequivocal kind in their own circles, under the very roof of the Tuilleries; and to discourse with considerable openness, of the necessity of putting to death all who had any share in the condemnation of Louis XVI., and of seizing the property, and banishing the persons of all who had ever held or accepted any employment whatsoever under any of the revolutionary governments;—to effect all which, they are said to contemplate the formation of a pure royalist army in La Vendée and the South, by means of which, after the factions have been disposed of, they propose to redeem the national honour, by taking vengeance on the English and other foreigners who have taken such an ungenerous advantage of their weakness to spoil and disable the country.

For the truth of these imputations, of course, we do not pretend to vouch; nor do we even profess to have grounds sufficient absolutely to settle our own belief with regard to them: But we do vouch for the fact, that such imputations are very generally made and believed at Paris; and that by persons whose means of information and general veracity are held to be equally unquestionable. It is no less certain, that the same impressions are very widely diffused through the body of the nation, and have been greatly strengthened and exasperated by the late mission of the Duc d'Angoulême into the South, and that of the Duc de Berri to La Vendée. Of their effect in promoting the previous animosity and alarm, it is needless to say any thing.

To what practical end this animosity tends, it is not perhaps quite so easy to determine. In one point, however, all but the highflying royalists seem to be agreed—that they never will submit to a government which does not cordially recognize all that is now defended by any body in the Revolution,—guarantee without grudging all the popular rights and privileges which have been acquired by the Revolution,—and acknowledge as ornaments and benefactors to the nation, many of those who distinguished themselves in the service of France, while it would have been held both criminal and ridiculous to talk of the rights of the Bourbons. Many seem now persuaded, that it is in vain to hope for such a government under the present monarch, or his immediate successors; and that the first opportunity must be taken again to expel them from the country. Others are of opinion, that if the King, who is by no means personally obnoxious, would emancipate himself from the yoke of the princes, and take

into his councils men acquainted with the present situation of France, he might still retrieve his past errors, and maintain himself on the throne for the remainder of his days. The scheme of a republic seems to be universally abandoned—at all events it is universally disavowed. The star of Napoleon, too, seems to be generally considered as set; and though there have been rumours of a design to bring forward his son, under the auspices of Austria, yet this is understood to be, as yet at least, nothing more than an angry and undigested conception of some of the discontented military leaders, and never likely to make any considerable party in the country,—which it would naturally throw, during the minority of the young Emperor, into the hated hands of Austria, or subject to the sanguinary competitions of rival generals and armies.

At present we are inclined to think, that the general voice of the discontented would be for **THE DUKE OF ORLEANS**—and that his appointment to a limited monarchy would satisfy a greater majority of all parties, and appease far more jealousies and alarms than any other measure that could be suggested. Such a choice would ensure these three great advantages to the nation. In the first place, they would have a king who owed his crown unequivocally to the will of the country, and consequently could claim nothing as his right by birth, nor dispute the legitimacy of any of the conditions under which it was given. In the second place, they would have a king connected with the Revolution by his parentage and early education, and therefore not liable to be tempted by family affection, or to be suspected of being tempted to look upon those concerned in the Revolution with feelings of hatred or revenge:—And, finally, they would have a king so near in blood to the lineal successor to the throne, and so little entitled to the dignity for his personal services or exertions, as to mark a considerable veneration for the principle of hereditary succession,—to conciliate the moderate royalists on the one hand, and to prevent this limited exercise of choice, in an emergency so new and important, from affording any encouragement to the perilous experiment of an elective monarchy—or, in other words, a crown set up as a prize to be fought for by all the daring and ambitious spirits in the country.

These considerations are so forcible, and, at the same time, so obvious, that we cannot help believing, that if things do not mend greatly before the death of the King, whose health and habits do not promise a long course of existence;—or if, even during his life, discontents should rise so high, as to produce another subversion of the government, by far the most likely, and, upon the whole, the most desirable issue, will be the transference of the sceptre to the Duke of Orleans, upon con-

ditions more favourable to general liberty than have yet been admitted by a French Sovereign.

We are far from intending to insinuate, that that illustrious person has actually taken any measures to bring about such a consummation, or that he is even suspected of caballing against the throne of his kinsman. On the contrary, it is generally understood, that he has carefully kept himself aloof from the hazard of all such imputations;—and that though his partisans may conjecture that he will not refuse the greatness that may be put upon him, they are perfectly aware that he will himself do nothing to bring it to him, nor use any other arts to strengthen his interest, than a scrupulous adherence to the principles of the constitutional charter, which the whole nation is now bound to observe. This character, as far as we can gather, is that of much good sense and moderation.

Hitherto we have been speaking very much in the name of the constitutionalists, or those who think they have room to complain of the existing government, and who say that they comprehend nine-tenths of the whole French people;—and in stating the facts on which they mainly rely for the justification of their discontents, we have perhaps unconsciously borrowed a little too much of their tone and temper. It would not be fair, however, to conclude this hasty sketch of the actual state of the country, without taking some notice of the pleas and averments of the Royalists.

Admitting, as they do in substance, most of the facts which we have already stated as notorious, the moderate persons of this party certainly deny that the King looks with any grudging or regret on the rights which the constitutional charter confirms to the people at large, or that the Princes profess any hostility to that constitution. They say, we are afraid not quite correctly, that the system of lenity and confidence was fairly tried during the last short reign, when it was shamefully abused, and that greater distrust and severity are now indispensable for their safety;—that those who are discontented now, never would be satisfied while any power was left to the Crown, and that it is as well to resist their pretensions at this point as at any other;—that they must at all events have a force for their protection, upon which they can rely—and that if the proved faithlessness of so many who made professions of attachment, compels them to choose that force among persons who carry their notions of loyalty somewhat farther than the present constitution admits, that is no fault of theirs; and it will be easy for the government to prevent this excessive devotion of their supporters from producing any practical mischief. They main-

tain also, that the only violent opposition to their government is to be found among the discontented and ambitious soldiery, who wish again for conquest and pillage, under a military sovereign; and that the great mass of the people, though overawed by this dangerous class of persons, are in their hearts for the King's government—as that under which they will have most peace, and most substantial freedom: And they maintain farther, that the genius of the French nation, and their late habits, lead them to submit much more patiently to the hand of power than the voice of reason;—and that if they could only get such an army as to repress all internal resistance, the country would fall very readily into its old habits of obedience to legitimate force. They confess, that the propensity of the people is to war, and that their leading passion is for military glory;—and upon this, in fact, they now build their chief hope of consolidating their government. The Allies, they say, and particularly the English, have behaved ungenerously, and even deceitfully, in coming into their country, with professions of amity to all but Bonaparte and his adherents; and, then taking advantage of their weakness and unprepared condition, to plunder and insult them, like a conquered people; to exact tribute from them; to dictate to them what garrisons they shall have, and where they shall be stationed in their own realm; and to seize upon their whole frontier, and quarter a foreign army upon them for a period of years after all pretexts for hostility have disappeared. By holding out this language, which no doubt falls in exactly with the sentiments of all classes of Frenchmen, they expect very easily to raise an army, which will at once strengthen their hands against all domestic enmity, and enable them, in due time, to drive these treacherous invaders from their soil, and retrieve the military honour of France, at the same time that they restore its independence.

We do not mean to say that this language is held by official persons about the Court on public occasions; but there is not the least doubt that it is held by the great body of Royalists individually, and that with very little reserve or concealment; and that the hatred to England is now, on the whole, more acrimonious, and more openly and offensively expressed among this class of persons than among their antagonists. It is, or was at least very lately, an ordinary topic of reproach with them, that our Government was actually in league with the partisans of Orleans to bring about the expulsion of the present King;—and some belief in this imputation may perhaps have mitigated the hostility of the constitutionalists.

From this state of parties and of facts, our readers may judge for themselves what is likely to be the fortune of this distracted country:—and we have no inclination to disturb their calculations with any predictions of ours. It is impossible, however, with the slightest recollection of the facts, and the general principles of human nature, to doubt that the party of the malcontents is by far the most numerous and daring: But they labour under the disadvantage of having no military head, no sort of pecuniary funds, and no means of safe or easy concert and preparation. The Government, in all these respects, is in a much more favourable situation. It is actually established, and invested with some immediate authority; and, as long as it lasts, may take its measures in perfect security and tranquillity. Both parties, in the mean time, are repressed, and nearly alike repressed we take it, by the overawing foreign force with which the theatre and the prize of their contentions is still surrounded, and the extreme uncertainty of the policy that this force may adopt in the event of a renewed civil war. They are also mutually repressed by the impoverished state of the country, and the almost total destruction of the *materiel* of an army which has taken place in the course of their late hostilities. It is owing to these circumstances alone, we think, that the conflict does not take place immediately.

As to the policy of Austria or Russia—though many extraordinary things are confidently asserted with regard to them—we shall not now venture upon any speculation: But it is impossible to look at such an event as the revival of civil contentions in France, even as a remote possibility, without strenuously inculcating upon *this* country the propriety, the justice, the necessity of an absolute, true, and entire neutrality. We have no right to interfere—We have no interest to interfere—And our interference is most likely to defeat the objects for which it is undertaken, and to ruin the peace and the liberties of all Europe, while it brings this nation to speedy bankruptcy, disorder, and dishonour.

Our ministers have already solemnly abjured all right to interfere in the internal government of France, or in the choice which that great nation may make of a government for itself; and therefore, it is needless to say any thing more on the general view of the subject,—as it probably will not be contended, that, except for some strong and immediate interest of our own, we can ever be entitled to intermeddle with the private concerns of our neighbours. That there are limits to this principle of non-interference, is indeed undeniable; and we are not disposed to be very rigid in fixing their places. If France should

again erect itself into a revolutionary republic, and proclaim hostility to all thrones, we should think this a justifiable case of interference, even antecedent to any actual attack on our own government.—Nay, if Bonaparte should escape from St Helena, and resume the purple for a third time in Paris, we should not much quarrel with those who should hold that also a ground for immediate opposition : But we must peremptorily protest against any interference for the purpose of keeping Lewis XVIII. on his throne, in despite of the French nation;—or for opposing the pretensions of the Duke of Orleans, or any other competitor whom the voice of the country may call to supply his place.

We are zealous and most sincere advocates for hereditary monarchy,—and our opinions and arguments upon that subject are already before the public at large: \*—But hereditary monarchy, without a power and a right in the people to change the line of succession, is the old slavish absurdity of the *jus divinum* of kings; and cannot decently be asserted in any country that has the smallest pretensions to liberty. In England, where we still have a free constitution, and that exactly because we have a Sovereign who owes his crown to such a change in the succession, the mere statement of such a doctrine must appear to be the very height of absurdity and baseness. But, even if this were questionable, surely it will not be pretended that the opposite doctrine, upon which it is our great glory and especial distinction among nations to have acted, and to the practical assertion of which we familiarly ascribe all that is excellent in our political institutions, can at the same time be so very pernicious and detestable, that it can be lawful to take up arms to prevent its adoption in a foreign country, and a duty to make war upon our neighbours, if they seem disposed in this respect to follow our example.

The only ground, in short, that can bear to be stated for such an interference, must be, that our own interests would be in some way compromised by any internal change in the government of a neighbouring country. But what is it to us, or any interest of ours, that the French people prefer the Duke of Orleans to the Count de Lille for their sovereign? and choose to call one prince of the old family to the throne, instead of another? It certainly is very much to be wished, for their own sakes, that they should adhere upon the whole to the principle of hereditary succession; but, even if they should judge differently, and should set up the crown to sale, or openly proclaim it to be elective, we do not see what right we should have to find fault with them.—The mischiefs of such a government are, in common cases, all

---

\* See the Review of Mr Leckie's work, Vol. XX. p. 322, &c.

to the nation that adopts it—and as it is usually rendered weaker and less formidable by the struggles and distractions to which it is consequently exposed, there seems to be no conceivable ground upon which the vicinage can have any right to prevent it. That it is an impolitic and improvident measure in general estimation, can surely give the wise people who think so no right to enlighten the folly of an independent nation by making war upon them till they are convinced of their folly. They must be left to the gentler and more effectual schooling of experience and reflection. What should we have thought in England, in 1688, if the great States of Europe had combined, and required us to show cause why we could live no longer under the dominion of our *legitimate* Sovereign, and enjoined us to make out such a case of necessity as *they* should find complete and satisfactory, before they would tolerate a measure so irregular, and of such dangerous example? Could any nation that pretended to independence submit to such an interference? Could any government, or any combination of governments, that pretended to justice or liberality, presume to attempt it?—The question, however, comes exactly to this issue,—whether the reasons which entitle a nation to make changes in its internal government, must be reasons that are satisfactory to itself,—or to other countries? That there may be reasons to justify such a change, probably will not be disputed; and all that is contended for is, that the nation which is to act upon them should be allowed to judge of their validity. No other tribunal can possibly be aware of their force, or attempt to make their practical application without manifest usurpation.

But even if an independent state could be subjected, in a matter like this, to the jurisdiction of the surrounding governments, and obliged to make out a colourable case before it was allowed to make any such alteration, we conceive that France could have no difficulty in making out such a case, as must, upon every principle of reciprocity, be conclusive and satisfactory, in so far at least as this country is to judge of it. We could not well refuse the authority of the great and glorious precedent afforded by our own history;—indeed there is no other conceivable standard by which any man among us could ever pretend to estimate the reasonableness of any similar attempt. But it would not be difficult, we think, to show, that if there be any truth at all in the view which we have already given of the interests and sentiments of the French nation, and the conduct and dispositions of its present rulers, there are, relatively to French feelings, as strong inducements to change the person of the sovereign in the one case, as in the other. The ultimate motive for all such changes, is the con-

scientious conviction of the people, that their lives, properties, or liberties will be in hazard, if it be not adopted. But there can be no sort of doubt, we suppose, that there are many more individuals now in France who sincerely entertain such apprehensions from the continuance of the present system, than there were in England in the time of James II. To quiet such general or extensive apprehensions, and to prevent them from breaking out into perpetual and incurable disturbances, the principle of hereditary succession, which is itself only to be valued as generally preventing such disturbances, may be lawfully sacrificed; and the sacrifice will be cheap, if the end can be accomplished, without absolutely departing from the principle altogether, but only deviating a little way from the lineal order of inheritance.

This is truly the bottom of the case; and the basis upon which our Revolution, as well as that of the Dutch provinces and the Swiss Cantons, and indeed every other, must ultimately be rested. — But the parallel between our case in 1688, and that of France at the present moment, may perhaps be pushed a little farther. The true cause of the expulsion of James, was the difference of religion. He adhered to the old faith of the country, while its habits and institutions had been permanently moulded to one of later origin; and instead of yielding a part, at least, of his own notions and prejudices, to those of his people, and being guided by the counsels of those who knew them and their temper, he gave himself up to the guidance of Priests and Jesuits and other zealots, who would admit of no compromise, and were substantially strangers to the character of the nation he was to govern. If we read *Emigrants for Jesuits*, this is nearly the picture of the present government of France. Twenty years of revolution have made the Court and the emigrants as much aliens to the habits and feelings of France as it now is, as the lapse of a century had estranged Popery and its accompaniments from the habits of our people in 1688; and we believe it will scarcely be doubted, that the political reformation of the former period is at least as much valued by its disciples, as the religious reformation of the latter was by its immediate supporters.

From what we have here said, it may perhaps be inferred, that we wish at all events for the dethronement of the present King, and think that an insurrection for that object would be a laudable and proper measure. This, however, is by no means our opinion. If the crown, indeed, could be brought to the Duke of Orleans, without a struggle or an insurrection, we have no hesitation in saying, that we think France would have a better chance both for freedom, and for tranquillity, than under the present Monarch and his apparent heirs; and we should con-



sider it as a very fortunate and happy event, for her and for the world, if, either by the natural course of mortality, or by any voluntary arrangement in the family, that Prince should now be enabled to ascend the throne, without competition or resistance from any quarter. Beyond this, however, our revolutionary spirit proceeds not ;—and if all Frenchmen thought as we do, they would rather apply themselves to conciliate each other, and gradually and patiently to ameliorate their constitution under their present King, than commit their country to the dreadful hazard of a new civil war, for an object which may be desirable, but which they cannot be sure of attaining.

Ignorant as the opponents of the Court are of the exact measure of their own strength, or of that which may be arrayed against it, it is quite impossible that they can have any assurance of a speedy or easy victory :—And with a people so combustible,—already so mischievously trained to military habits and principles,—so ill provided with leaders in civil wisdom,—and so apt to be made the prey of atrocious factionaries, or ambitious generals, we confess that we see much more danger, both to liberty and peace, from the issue of a long internal contention, than from any abuse of which the present government is likely to be guilty—if properly watched, admonished, and resisted. The foundations of a representative government are now laid, we think, indestructibly in the French constitution; and we have no idea that the present King has any design to abrogate or defeat the objects of this great institution. However much it may be abused or perverted, therefore, at this moment, it seems certain, that if every thing is not again cast down by the shock of another popular revolution, the monarchy will be substantially limited, and a certain considerable and growing portion of power vested in the people. We are not even sure whether the nation be fit at this moment for more complete liberty ; and whether they would not, on the whole, have a better chance of ultimately obtaining a free and happy constitution, by this progressive and gradual extension of the legislative power, than by starting at once into the function of patriots and citizens. At all events, we should prefer this chance to the perilous experiment of an appeal to arms, and the hazards of an exasperated civil war. We should endeavour to enlighten and conciliate the Nation, and, if necessary, to controul and even intimidate the Court, if it persisted in a narrow or illiberal policy ; but we should not risk an actual insurrection—on slighter ground than that of actual and intolerable oppression,—and certainly not for the uncertain chance of obtaining a Sovereign who would no doubt be more suitable in many respects to the present condition of the country.













